

# ORIENTALIA SUECANA

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Department of Asian and African Languages  
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY  
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# ORIENTALIA SUECANA

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# Minhe Monguor Children's Games

ZHU YONGZHONG and KEVIN STUART, Qinghai

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Children's traditional games offer an ideal topic for folklore research. They are passed from child to child in almost pure oral tradition with no reference whatever to print, and probably with negligible influence from teachers, parents, or recreation leaders. The players are naturally conservative about their texts and will strive to maintain the "right way" of playing against all variations. Thus old games may survive, little altered, through many generations of children (Brunvand 1968:283).

This paper presents six categories of games, illustrated by twelve examples, played by Minhe Monguor children and young adults in the southern regions of Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County, located in the eastern sector of China's north-western Qinghai Province (Koko Nor).<sup>1</sup> As such, it is the first research on Monguor games of any sort that we are aware of. These games, and variant forms of these games, are familiar to most Minhe Monguor children and young adults. Older children generally initiate younger ones into the rules and processes of the games and, after some years, the younger children are game instructors. Children play the games at school during breaks between classes, during lunchtime, and after classes. The games are also played in the children's home villages. Within the children's own social groups, playing these games well means that they more easily obtain leadership positions.

The popularity of the games is declining because many young adults are leaving the area to find work and because of the increasing presence of television sets in Minhe Monguor villages, which many children and young adults find more entertaining than playing traditional games. Generally, before a person is eighteen years of age, interest in these games fades, because they are considered the games of children and not the mark of an "adult."

Zhu Yongzhong, an English teacher at Zhongchuan Middle School<sup>2</sup> located in Zhongchuan Monguor Township, Minhe Hui and Monguor Autonomous County,<sup>3</sup> collected these games from Monguor children and young adults in 1994–1995. The

<sup>1</sup> For more on the Monguor see *China Today* 1990; Feng and Stuart 1992; Hu and Stuart 1992a, 1992b; Li 1994; Li 1988; Limusishiden and Stuart 1994; Ma 1990; Qeiosinhua 1992; Schram 1954, 1957, 1961, Schröder 1952/1953, 1959, 1970, 1980; Stuart 1992; Stuart and Hu 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1991b, 1992a, 1992c, 1993; Stuart and Limusishiden 1994; Wang, Zhu, and Stuart 1995; Wang and Stuart 1995, Zhao 1982, Zhu, Üjiyediin Chuluu, and Stuart 1995, and Zhu and Stuart 1996. For a recent impression of Qinghai see Barnett (1993).

<sup>2</sup> In the school year 1994–1995, Zhongchuan Middle School had 506 students of which 502 were Monguor and four were Hui.

<sup>3</sup> This area is located in southern Minhe County, near the Yellow River separating Qinghai Province from Gansu, Province.

players performed several of these games for Zhu, and explained the rules while they were playing. The first author also called upon his own knowledge of having played several of these games when he, too, was a child.

The terms used in these games are complex. Many suggest actions that cannot be neatly summarized in English. Furthermore, certain terms are derived from Minhe Monguor (language), Chinese, and others are a combination of these two languages. To better clarify these terms for future folklorists and students of Minhe Monguor culture, a glossary is appended to this paper.

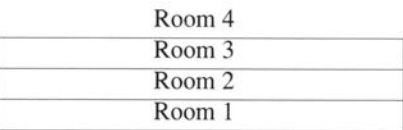
2. SHABAO GAMES

*Shabao* may be translated literally as “sand bag” and refers both to a playing device and a collection of games.

*Chuijianbao*<sup>4</sup>

a) The Playing Area

The lines that delineate the playing area are called *gedang*. The playing area consists of three rectangles that are approximately one and one half to two meters wide and have a height of approximately one-half meter (see *Diagram One*).<sup>5</sup> The playing area might also be delineated as depicted in *Diagram Two*.



*Diagram One.* The Playing Area of the Game *Chuijianbao*.



*Diagram Two.* A Variant Playing Area of the Game *Chuijianbao*.

b) Game Devices

The *shabao* is a square five centimeters in width, thickness, and length. It is made of six pieces of cloth sewn together so that one corner is left unsewn. After wheat or peas are placed inside, this corner is sewn shut. A second *shabao* is made by sewing together two pieces of cloth five by five centimeters in dimension and a piece of rectangular cloth five by twenty centimeters in size.

<sup>4</sup> The game is also known as *shabao*. This is Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) and may be translated as “sand bag.” The game is also known as *chuijianbao* (MSC: “hammer-scissors-wrap”) and *sanjianni* (MSC: *sanjian*, “three-rooms;” *ni*: Monguor (M) suffix meaning “of.” Ms. Wang Weihong (b. 1980, a native of Nongchang Village) and Ms. Yang Zhimei (b. 1980, a native of Jintian Village) explained this game to the first author at Zhongchuan Middle School in the winter of 1994.

<sup>5</sup> The dimensions are reduced when quite young children play.

## c) Dividing the Players

Generally, four people play. However, two people can play and more than four people can also play. *Shabao* players are divided into two groups. Players stand together and then, at an agreed upon signal, such as a shout, or counting to three, all players extend their hands forward, either with the palm up or the palm down. Those with palms up become one group, and those with palms down become another group. This is repeated until each group is approximately the same size. In certain places, this is called *shouxing shoubeiga*.

## d) The First Chance to Play

*Caicaichi* decides which group plays first. One player from each group does this. *Caicaichi* is done with the feet. Three movements are possible. The movements represent "cloth," "a stone," and "a pair of scissors." A player might move one foot one step forward and the other foot one step behind, representing a pair of scissors. A player might move each foot one step to the side, that is, the left foot would be moved one step to the left side and the right foot would be moved one step to the right, representing a piece of cloth. The third movement is that a player keeps her feet together, representing a stone. Before executing a movement, the players bounce up and down with two small hops. In the third hop "cloth," "a stone," or "a pair of scissors" is represented with the feet. In deciding a winner the rule is followed that "scissors" defeat "cloth," "cloth" defeats "a stone," and "a stone" defeats "scissors."

## e) Steps

(i.) *Tiao Sijian* (Leap Four Rooms). The first player throws the *shabao* into Room One and then steps into Room One. The player must not step on a line delineating Room One. The player takes the *shabao* between her feet, jumps up, and tosses the *shabao* into Room Two. This is repeated for rooms Three and Four. There is a rule called *ger guoligha guang* ("room passing without") that means the *shabao* cannot be thrown from Room One to rooms Three or Four. In Room Four the player holds the *shabao* between her knees. There are three ways to throw the *shabao* before it is caught between the knees. This form of the game is the easiest, thus, young girls and beginners play it. One foot may be used to push the *shabao* on top of the player's other foot. Before she pushes the *shabao* with one foot onto the top of the other foot she asks, "*Jichu si?*" ("How often can the *shabao* be pushed before my turn dies?") Common replies are *yichusi* (once), *liangchusi* (twice), or *sanchusi* (thrice). Whatever the answer is, all subsequent players must play according to the same rule. The *shabao* is then tossed up and held between the player's knees. This second way is the most used. The *shabao* may also be held between a player's feet, tossed straight up, and then held between the knees. Another way, which is the most difficult, requires the player to hold the *shabao* between her feet and toss it high into the air behind her body. The player then quickly turns around and catches the *shabao* between her knees. This is difficult and used primarily by skilled players.

Players may invoke a rule that the player must not move her feet from the place where she caught the *shabao*. From this position in Room Four, the player must jump back into Room Three. Also, for the rest of the game, she cannot move her feet once she jumps into subsequent rooms. Players may also agree that a player may take very small steps, continuing to hold the *shabao* between her knees, until she is at the Room Three line. She then hops into Room Three. As the player jumps from Room Four into Room Three she does *chui*, which is putting her feet together on the ground when jumping.

When moving from Room Three to Room Two, the player does *jian*, which is jumping from Room Three to Room Two on one foot. When moving from Room Two to Room One, the player does *bao*, which is similar to *chui*, that is, the player jumps with both feet and, when she lands in Room One, she releases the *shabao* from between her knees. She then retrieves the *shabao* with her feet, throws it behind her, turns, catches it in her hands, and lands outside Room One. Next, the player uses her hands to throw the *shabao* into Room Two. Players may agree to a rule that players cannot move from the location where they caught the *shabao* outside Room One. From this location she steps into Room One and then steps into Room Two. The player retrieves the *shabao* with her feet and throws it into Room Three. She subsequently steps into Room Three, picks up the *shabao* with her feet, and throws it into

Room Four. As described above, the players move back through the four rooms. After this is finished, the *shabao* is thrown by the player from outside into Room Three and the above steps are repeated. Next, the player throws the *shabao* from outside into Room Four and the preceding steps are repeated.

(ii.) *Bodo* (Knee). Now a player raises one knee and puts the *shabao* onto it. She must not let the *shabao* fall from her knee. She jumps into rooms One, Two, and Three doing *daidai*, which is jumping on one foot. However, as she moves from Room Three to Room Four she lowers her knee, grips the *shabao* between her knees, and steps into Room Four. She then moves back through the rooms according to *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps.

Players may say “*Yaoji ruo biu?*” or “Is it all right to step into (the room)?” If the answer is “Yes,” the player steps into Room One and then puts the *shabao* on her knee. Next, she jumps into rooms Two and Three with the *shabao* on her knee and asks, “*Shabao baogha biu?*” or “Can the *shabao* fall?” If the answer is affirmative, the player throws the *shabao* from Room Three to Room Four and steps into Room Four. The *shabao* is held between the knees as before. If the answer to this last question is “No,” the player jumps into Room Four holding the *shabao* between her knees without letting it fall onto the ground.

(iii.) *Nanzha* (Back Knee Joint). After completing all the above the player stands outside Room One and holds the *shabao* in her *nanzhawe*, or the back knee joint, and jumps into Room One on one foot as in *daidai*. If the answer to “*Yaoji ruo biu?*” was affirmative, the player may step into Room One and then hold the *shabao* in her *nanzhawe*. When she is ready to jump into Room Three, she crosses her legs at the knees and then holds the *shabao* between her knees. She subsequently jumps into Room Four. More skilled players grasp only a part of the *shabao* in their *nanzhawe*, which makes moving the *shabao* to a position between the knees easier. She then moves back through the rooms using the steps of *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps.

(iv.) *Khuer Zhoujia* (Heel). One leg is bent backwards at a ninety-degree angle and the *shabao* is placed on top of one heel. Jumping is as in *bodo* and *nanzha*. When the player jumps to Room Four she flips the *shabao* forward and catches it between her knees in Room Four. She then moves back through the rooms using the steps of *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps. If the answer to “*Shabao baogha biu?*” is “Yes,” the player throws the *shabao* to Room Four from Room Three.

(v.) *Khuer Nuer* (Foot Top). The *shabao* is placed on top of one foot. If the players agree to the rule *zhouke bang* (“bend have”), the player may bend her leg to a ninety-degree angle. If they say “*Zhouke guang*,” (“bend without”) the player must extend her leg holding the *shabao*, making the game more difficult. After landing in Room Four, she moves back through the rooms using the steps of *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps.

(vi.) *Khuer Jianjier* (Foot Tip). The *shabao* is placed on the tip of the toes of one foot. Players play either according to the rules of *zhouke bang* or *zhouke guang* as already described. Other steps are the same as above.

(vii.) *Hai Zhangzi* (Shoe Sole). The *shabao* is put on the sole of one shoe. A player asks, “*Gher bari biu gui?*” or “Can it be held?” If the answer is positive, the player may hold the toes of the foot where the *shabao* rests. If the answer is negative, the player cannot touch her foot after she puts the *shabao* on her sole. Because the *shabao* easily falls off the sole, some players use shoes with heels, which makes the *shabao* less likely to slip off. When a player is ready to enter Room Four the rule of *baogha bang* or *baogha guang* is observed. If it is



*baogha guang*, the player throws the *shabao* from Room Three and holds it between her knees in Room Four after jumping.

(viii.) *Biao* (Toss). A player outside Room One asks "*Jipu?*" which means "How many steps?" Other players answer with a number greater than one. The player must step to Room Four in the number of specified steps. After she steps in Room Four she will *biao*, which is an action to throw the *shabao* into one of the rooms. This specifies that this is "home" (explained later) after she completes this step. This step is completed by the player returning outside Room One using the same number of steps she used to reach Room Four.

In *qianbiao*, or "toss forward," as the player jumps to Room Four, she turns around and tosses the *shabao* into Room One. If the *shabao* lies on a line or in rooms Two or Three, she loses the remainder of her turn. The player must reach outside Room One in a certain number of specified steps. For example, if the other players designate two steps, the player has to reach Room One in one step, where she picks up the *shabao*, and then steps outside Room One with her remaining step. Before leaving Room One, she picks up the *shabao* between her feet, throws it up, catches the *shabao* in her hands and, simultaneously, jumps outside Room One.

The next procedure is *houbiao*, or "back toss." During this step a player cannot turn around when she steps into Room Four, using the same number of steps previously specified. She must throw the *shabao* backwards into Room One without looking. If her *shabao* lands in other than the interior of Room One, she loses the remainder of her turn. She then turns around and must return outside Room One in a specified number of steps. On the way, she must retrieve her *shabao*, as described in *qianbiao*.

At this point, the group who has earned Room One as their home, that is, they have successfully completed all the steps just described, is asked by the other group when they toss the *shabao* into Room One, "*Gerdu ruo biu?*" or "Is it all right to step into the room?" If the answer is "Yes," the way players move from room to room is the same as what has been described previously. If the answer is "No," players cannot jump into opponents' "homes" and, on their return to outside Room One, they release the *shabao* when entering Room Two. When a player jumps out of Room Two, she must jump outside Room One. As she does so, she flips the *shabao* up with her feet and catches it in her hands as she lands outside Room One. If a player throws her *shabao* into Room One, which has already been earned by the other group as their "home," the player can jump into Room One as before. But, on the way back, she must act according to the answer to the question above.

In certain areas, if the rule is in force that they cannot enter the other group's "home," they will jump outside Room One from Room Two after jumping *chuijian*. Once outside Room One the player releases the *shabao* from between her knees, picks it up with her feet, throws it in the air with her feet, and then catches it in her hands.

The group (who has earned Room One as their "home") begins play. They begin by throwing the *shabao* into Room One. They ask "*'Aixiao' keli biu?*" or "Is there a rule to say '*Aixiao*'?" If the other group says "Yes," the player steps into Room One and stands on both feet in the room. In addition, she shouts, "*Aixiao!*" "*Yang huni?*" which translates as "What will you give?" There are two possible responses. If the response is "*Qiantiao*," ("forward jump"), she pushes the *shabao* onto the top of one foot with her other foot and tosses it into Room Two. This rule is only used in the player's "home." If the answer is "*Houtiao*" ("backward jump"), the player turns her body slightly, holds the *shabao* between her feet, and throws it into Room Two. Further jumps from Room Two to Room Three to Room Four are according to what was described earlier. Once the player reaches Room Four, the player holds the *shabao* between her knees and jumps back to Room One using the steps of *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. When jumping from Room One to outside Room One, she again acts according to *qiantiao* or *houtiao*. Once outside Room One the player picks the *shabao* up with her feet, throws it in the air with her feet, and catches it in her hands.

When a player, who has already made Room One her "home," prepares for Room Two, she stands in Room One on both feet. On her way back from Room Four to outside Room One, she jumps according to *qiantiao* or *houtiao* from Room One to outside Room One. Once out-

side Room One, the player picks the *shabao* up with her feet, throws it in the air with her feet, and then catches it in her hands. The player then throws the *shabao* into Room One, and jumps into each subsequent room. Next, the player stands outside Room One and jumps into Room Two and each subsequent room. The player then jumps from outside Room One into Room Three and each subsequent room. Finally, the player jumps from outside Room One into Room Four and then into each subsequent room.

Players also ask “*Gher tuer biu?*” (“Is there a rule allowing touching the ground with the hands?”) If the answer is “No,” a player loses the remainder of her turn if she touches the ground with her hand. Furthermore, if one group member touches the ground with her hand, all the other members of that group also lose their turns. This is called “*Yi dai liangren si!*” (“Two will die for one!”). However, if the answer is “Yes,” there is no penalty.

Next, players jump according to *bodo*, *nanzhan*, and *zhoujia*. The only difference from what was described earlier within these categories is that the player may rest on both feet when she passes through her “home”. Additionally, when she is in her “home”, she must act according to *qiantiao* or *houtiao*.

After earning three rooms as their “homes”, if the players want to continue playing, another room is added by drawing an additional line. Players attempt to make the new room their “home.” Customarily, however, when each group has earned a “home”, they stop playing, because it takes a long time to earn one room. Players often cannot finish claiming three rooms as “homes.”

### *Chuichuijianjianbao*<sup>6</sup>

In this version of *chuijianbao* there are six rooms.<sup>7</sup> The way to jump from room to room is similar to *chuijianbao*. When the player jumps back from Room Six, she has two *chui* and two *jian* jumps, which are followed by one *bao* jump, which explains the name. When the player begins the *biao* step, other players give more than three steps. If ten steps are given, for example, it is acceptable, but the player must make very short steps, or make two steps in one room.

### *Shabao A*<sup>8</sup>

#### a) The Playing Area

Players first draw a rectangular playing area (see *Diagram Three*). The width depends on the number and ages of players. Often, it is five to seven meters long and two to five meters wide. For example, if four children aged ten to twelve are playing, the playing area may be two meters wide and four to five meters long.

#### b) Dividing the Players

The players divide into two groups. Players stand together and then, at an agreed upon signal, such as a shout, or counting to three, all players extend their hands forward, either with the palm up or the palm down. Those with palms up become one group, and those with palms

<sup>6</sup> Ms. Wang Weihong and Ms. Yang Zhimei explained this game to the first author at Zhongchuan Middle School in the winter of 1994.

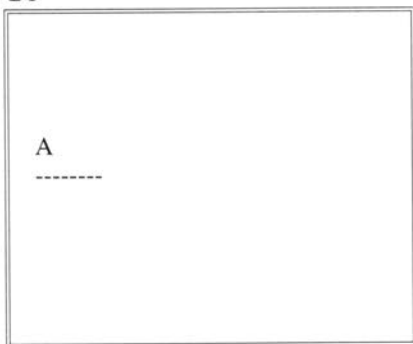
<sup>7</sup> *Chuijianbao*, is also called “three rooms,” owing to the playing area where three rooms are clearly delineated. Nevertheless, the playing area beyond Room Three is called “Room Four.” In *chuichuijianjianbao*, the situation is similar. It is called “five rooms,” but the area beyond the fifth delineated room is called “Room Six.”

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Bai Yucheng (b. 1970), a Monguor teacher at Hulancher Primary School in Zhonghuan Township, asked his students to play the game. He then recorded information about the game for the first author. The first author also obtained additional information from his own students.



down become another group. This is repeated until each group is approximately the same size.

B1



B2

*Diagram Three.* The Playing Area of the Game *Shabao* A.

B1, B2 = Positions where Group B players stand.

A = Line where Group A players stand.

c) Getting the First Chance to Play

*Caicaichi* decides which group plays first.

d) Playing

Group A, that is, the group that won *caicaichi*, stands along Line A which is imagined and not drawn. It is in the center of the playing area. When the game begins, Group A members may run inside the playing area and dodge the single *shabao* thrown at the legs of Group A members by Group B. Members of Group B stand at B1 and B2. A Group B player throws the *shabao* at a Group A member. If she does not hit anyone, the *shabao* is tossed to a Group B member standing on the other side of the playing area, who then tries to hit a Group A member. If a Group A member is hit by the *shabao*, she is eliminated, until, possibly, she is "saved" by another Group A member. This is accomplished by a Group A member catching the *shabao* when it is tossed. If a Group A member does catch the *shabao* under such conditions, she can "save" one of her "killed" friends. If she has no other partners and she catches the *shabao*, then she may save herself when she is eventually hit.

e) Conclusion

When all Group A members are struck by Group B, Group B stands in the playing area and the game is repeated.

### ***Shabao B*<sup>9</sup>**

a) The Playing Area

A round spiraling playing area containing a rectangle with a cross inside at the center, symbolizing the Chinese character *tian*,<sup>10</sup> is drawn.

b) Game Device

A *shabao* is used.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. Zhu Xiaolan (b. 1980) and her elder sister explained this game to the first author in her home in Junqu Nongchang (Army Farm) in Zhongchuan Township.

<sup>10</sup> Meaning "field."

## c) Dividing the Players

*Caicaichi* is the normal way to divide players into two groups. At first, all the players choose two of their number (A and B) to *caicaichi*. If A wins, she has the right to choose first from among the unchosen players. B chooses next. They alternate in choosing until all players are chosen.

## d) The First Chance to Play

*Caicaichi* is also done to decide who will play first. It is normally done by A and B, although another person might substitute. In this game, the group members that won *caicaichi* run in the playing area while members of the opposing group throw the *shabao* at them.

## e) Steps

Imagine that twelve children are playing. Group A has six players and Group B has six players. One member of Group A and one member of Group B stand at the entrance of the playing area in preparation for playing *caicaichi*. At this time, the *shabao* is put in any of the four rooms at the center of the playing area. The other ten players push and shove each other to gain a better position for running into the playing area in the event their group's representative wins. The two players play *caicaichi*. When the result is clear, here we shall assume that Group A wins, a Group B member darts into the playing area and picks up the *shabao*. This player may step across any line. Simultaneously, Group A members try to shove past Group B members into the playing area. The Group B members try to stop the last Group A member from entering the playing area. When the Group B member returns with the *shabao*, she hits the person whom her fellow Group B members have blocked. This player is now "dead" and must stand to the side of the playing area. The first toss of the *shabao* by a Group B member must be made at the entrance of the playing area. Group A members must not cross any lines as they move inside the playing area.

One or, at most, two players can take refuge in the rooms at the center of the playing area. Since they put one or two feet in the rooms they cannot be hit by the *shabao* or, if they are, they do not "die." Group B members now disperse along the periphery of the playing area and toss the *shabao* at Group A members. If the *shabao* strikes a Group A player, this player must come and stand in the "dead player" area. If the *shabao* lands in the playing area, a Group B member may dart in and retrieve it, but cannot throw it until she is outside the playing area. The only exception to this is when the *shabao* lands on a line of the playing area. Now, the Group B member retrieving the *shabao* may throw the *shabao* from where it landed.

Once a Group A member has "died" she may be "saved" by one of her group's players if that player has first touched the center rooms with a foot and then run to the entrance of the playing area without being hit. In such an event, the player who was "dead" moves back inside the playing area.

If a Group A member catches the *shabao* when it is shot at her, she has "a life in her hands" and she can save one of her friends who "died" before. If she has no other partners, she can save herself another time.

## f) Conclusion

If all Group A members are hit by the *shabao*, then Group B members run into the playing area and Group A members try to shoot them.

3. ERGANG GAMES<sup>11</sup>

## a) The Playing Area

*Ergang* is Chinese meaning "two lines." The game is so named because the playing area is often delineated by two parallel lines separated by a distance of three to five meters. The dis-

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Zhang Fuguang (b. 1980), a native of Jintian Village explained this game to the first author at Zhongchuan Middle School in the winter of 1994. Furthermore, the first author played this game in his childhood.

tance between the two lines is decided by the players' ages and skill levels. These two lines are called *gedang*. One group stands their stones on one line and the other group stands on the other line. It is from this latter line that they throw their stones at the standing stones. However, sometimes the players draw three lines, in which case the name remains unchanged. In this variant form, another line is drawn between the two outside lines. This third line is called *dongda gedang*, which means "line in the middle."

#### b) Game Devices

Flat or square stones are used. Each player has only one stone. One group places their stones in an upright position and the other group attempts to hit the standing stones with their own stones. Flat stones are preferred because they are more accurate when thrown.

#### c) Dividing the Players

This is a popular game played by Minhe Monguor boys. In certain areas young adults also are fond of it. Players divide into two groups with a total number of players equaling two, four, or six. The two best players are agreed upon by all the players. Next, in turn, these two players select the remaining boys to be members of their groups. If the players often play together, they may divide themselves into two groups without going through a formal selection process.

#### d) The First Chance to Play

A player spits on his *ergang* or the playing stone, and then a player from the other group will say *shui* ("water") or *gan* ("dry"). The player holding the stone throws it into the air. If the side that was guessed lands face up then that group plays first.

#### e) Steps

The game has eight steps. The object is for one group to hit their opposing group's standing stones. Success allows going on to the next step. During the game, one group stands their stones on the back line and the other tries to hit them. If only two boys are playing, that is, each group only has one boy and one boy strikes the standing stone, he can play the next step. If three boys are in a group, for example, and two boys in the group throwing stones fail to hit any of the standing stones, but the third boy does hit one stone, then he may throw his stone again at the two remaining stones. If he hits both remaining stones this group advances to the next step. If he misses one or both of the remaining stones it becomes the other group's turn. However, in the next step, this group will only have to knock down the stones that they missed in the previous step. This could be one, two or, if they missed all the three stones in the previous step, three stones.

(i.) *Tougang*. The group that plays first stands on an outside line. The other group puts their stones on the other outside line. The group that plays first then throws their stones. If all the target stones are hit, they may go on to the next step, which is called *ara*.

At the beginning of the game, players decide if the boys who throw their stones may, in the first step, take one step toward the stones from the line that they stand on at the beginning of the game. If the boys agree to do this, it is called *qianpu bi* ("front step have"). If they do not agree to do this, it is called *qianpu gui* ("front step without").

Before the game begins, another issue is decided: two stones might be placed near each other. If the players agree on *shuangkuo* (see glossary) both stones may be hit by one stone and counted as out. However, if the players do not agree on *shuangkuo*, and a player hits two stones with his stone, he loses his turn.

(ii.) *Ara*. A player takes his stone in one hand, raises one leg, and throw his stone under his raised thigh. He must not hit any stone and he must not throw his stone past the line of the stones. The player steps to his stone. He asks the other group "Did you say?" If the group says "Yes," he may continue. If the group says "No," he must wait until they say "Yes." The period of waiting is generally a few moments. Asking this question gives the target group time

to observe the other group. If a player goes on to the next step without asking permission he loses his turn. Next, the player steps to his stone and moves his stone with his foot near the target stone and kicks his stone at the target stone. If the players are playing with three lines and the player's stone is between the first and second lines, the player may not move the stone forward with his foot. However, if the player's stone is between the second and the third lines, he may move his stone with his foot. Moving his stone with his foot is called *guoliaozhi*.

(iii.) *Xiera*. In this step the rules of *tougang* apply. The only difference is that stones are placed so that their edges are facing the players throwing stones. This makes hitting the target stones more difficult.

(iv.) *Paipai*. The rules of *ara* apply. The only difference is that when the player throws his stone according to *ara*, he walks to his stone, places his stone on top of his feet, and tosses it with his feet toward the target stone.

(v.) *Dou*. A player puts his stone on one foot and asks members of the other group how many steps he may walk toward the target stone. The answer to this question may be one, or a small number of steps. This means that this player will be far from the target stone. Occasionally, a group might give many steps in answer, such as ten or fifteen. This is done in the hope that the player will walk past the line of target stones. Furthermore, if *qianpu* has been agreed to, it is done after the designated number of steps have been taken.

(vi.) *Su*. A player puts the end of his foot on the edge of his stone. Normally, he takes the same number of paces he was given in *dou* toward the target stone. Occasionally, a player may ask how many steps to take. Next, a *qianpu* is always taken. While these steps are being taken, the player pushes the stones forward using one foot. Finally, the player kicks his stone at the target stone.

(vii.) *Sergai*. The number of steps taken in *dou* and *su* are added. A player takes this many steps forward. He stands on his right foot and raises his left leg. His left foot cannot touch the ground. The player tosses his stone under his left leg at the target stone. The remaining portions of this step are the same as *ara*.

(viii.) *Barang*. The only difference between *barang* and *sergai* is that, now, the player stands on his left foot and raises his right leg.

(ix.) *Tougang*. *Tougang* is repeated.

#### f) Conclusion: *Beibeili*

Now it is time for the winners to punish the losers. The punishment has been decided earlier at the start of the game. There are two possibilities: *beibei* and *zouzou*. If the former was agreed upon the loser attempts to hit the winner's stones, as in *tougang*. If he is successful, he carries the winner from the standing line to the target stone line and back to the standing line. If he missed the target stone, he must carry the winner on his back, pick up his stone, and toss it at the target stone again. He continues to carry the winner on his back until he successfully hits the target stone. If the latter form of punishment was agreed to, the loser attempts to hit the target stone as in *tougang*. If a player hits a target stone, he walks to his stone to pick it up and returns to the standing line. As he walks to get his stone and back to the standing line, he cries "Zou!" A winner walks with him, pinching his ears. If he misses the target stone, he must repeat this until he is successful. Each time he walks to retrieve his stone and back to the standing line, he must shout "Zou!" and his ears will be pinched by a winner.

4. GHAGER GAMES<sup>12</sup>

a) The Playing Area

Each "room" is approximately two-thirds meter wide and one-half meter long.

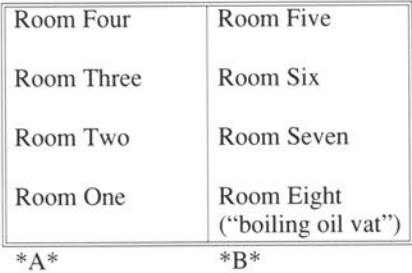


Diagram Four. The Playing Area of the Game Ghager.

\*A\* = Where players stand to throw their *wazhigh*, or small piece of pottery or earthenware, before they leap.

\*B\* = Where players pick up their *wazhigh* from Room Eight, standing on one foot, after they leap back.

Eight "rooms" are drawn as depicted in *Diagram Four*. The rooms are identical, except Room Eight, which players consider to be a pot of boiling oil.

b) Game Device

A round piece of pottery or earthenware with a diameter of three to four centimeters is used.

c) Players

Two or four players play this game. Usually, it is played by two players. If four children play, they divide into two groups.

d) The First Chance to Play

The players decide who play first by *caicaichi*.

e) Steps

(i.) Play begins with a player standing at \*A\* and throwing the *wazhigh* into Room One. Next, the player hops on one foot into Room One. While remaining standing on one foot, the player uses the foot that she stands on to kick the *wazhigh* to each room according to their numerical order to, finally, Room Seven, where the *wazhigh* is kicked into Room Eight. The player does not enter Room Eight, only the *wazhigh* is kicked into this room.

Rules dictate that the *wazhigh* cannot lie across a line and it cannot be kicked out of a room. Players cannot step on any line. A player can kick the *wazhigh* from Room One to Room Two, Three, and Four with one kick, but they cannot kick the *wazhigh* from Room One to rooms Five, Six, Seven, and Eight with one kick. If a rule is violated, the player loses this turn.

The player then turns around, still standing on one foot, and hops back through the rooms in reverse numerical order to "A" and, next, to "B." The player continues to stand on one foot and, using one hand, supports herself on the ground and picks up the *wazhigh* from the "boiling oil vat." At this point the player may rest with both feet on the ground and return to a standing position. The player may now go on to step (ii).

<sup>12</sup> It is also called *fangchen* in certain Minhe Monguor areas that are near locations where Han Chinese dwell, such as in Gangou Hui Autonomous Township. Ms. Zhu Meilan (b. 1976) explained how to play this game to the first author in her home in Zhujiola Village in the winter of 1994.

(ii.) The player repeats what was done in step (i) in the following seven steps. The only difference is that players throw, in turn, the *wazhigh* into Room Two, Room Three, Room Four, and so on. Also, when step (viii) is played, the *wazhigh* is first thrown into Room Eight and then the player hops through each room in numerical order with there being no *wazhigh* to kick.

(iii.) *Ger biao*ke (“Getting a home”). A player stands at “A” with her back facing the rooms, which are the “city.” Then the player throws the *wazhigh* with one hand from a point above her shoulders into one room. The room where her *wazhigh* lands becomes her *ger*, or “home.” If the *wazhigh* lands in Room Three, for example, the player repeats what she did in Room Three in step (ii), as just described. If the player completes this step successfully, she earns one “home” for herself, and her partner. When she earns a “home” she places a mark in this room. Such a mark is often placed in a corner, so that it will not be obliterated by the players. If, however, the player throws the *wazhigh* into Room Eight, she loses this turn and the next player plays. Now, the player returns to “A” and repeats steps (i) and (ii). The only difference is that each time she passes her “home” on the way to *yougo*, she must say to the other player(s) that it is her “home.”

At the beginning of the game players may have agreed that if a player does not stand on both feet in her “home” on her way to *yougo*, then she has made an error, her “home has burned,” and she must earn a “home” again. She does this by completing all the steps that she did previously before she earned a “home.”

When a player successfully completes all eight rounds and, each time remembers to rest on both feet in her “home,” she stands on “A” with her back again to the “city.” She throws the *wazhigh* behind her to get another “home.” The player must also not throw the *wazhigh* into the “home” of another player. To do so means that the player has lost this turn. Furthermore, the *wazhigh* may not be thrown into Room Eight.

The players believe that they earn “money” by taking the *wazhigh* from the *yougo* and they use this “money” to buy a “home.”

#### f) Conclusion: *Beila* (Carrying a Person on One’s Back)

The person who has earned the most “homes” is judged to be the winner after all seven “homes” are earned. Sometimes, when someone wins four homes, the game stops. The loser carries the winner on her back two or three circles around the city. The number of circuits is often decided at the beginning of play.

### 5. JINGGUDAN GAMES<sup>13</sup>

#### a) The Playing Area

Eight square or nearly square rooms are used (see *Diagram Five*). Each room is normally one-half meter wide and one-third meter long.

#### a) Game Device

*Jinggudan* is a marble. It is the only device in the game. Some years previous, some players burned plastic to form a ball that was somewhat larger than a marble. Now, however, glass marbles are predominantly used. Players use only one foot to step on and roll the *jinggudan* into the next room.

#### b) Players

Two or four people generally play. If four people play there are two groups of two people each.

<sup>13</sup> Ms. Wang Weihong and Ms. Yang Zhimei described and demonstrated this game to Zhu Yongzhong in the winter of 1994 at Zhongchuan Middle School.



Room Four	Room Five
Room Three	Room Six
Room Two	Room Seven
Room One	Room Eight

\*A\*

Diagram Five. The Playing Area of the Game *Jinggudan*.

\*A\* = The starting point of play.

c) The First Chance to Play

The players decide who plays first by *caicaichi*.

d) Steps

(i.) A player stands at \*A\*, holds the *jinggudan* under one foot, and gently rolls it with the same foot into Room One. The player quickly follows it and stamps it with one foot to stop its movement in Room One. The player may not move the leg that does not roll the *jinggudan* or, at most, moves this leg slightly. Next, the player stands in Room One and rolls the *jinggudan* into Room Two, follows it, and stamps it with one foot to stop its movement in Room Two. This is repeated until the player stands in Room Eight and Room Seven and the *jinggudan* is rolled to Room Eight.

Now the player rolls the *jinggudan* from Room Eight to Room Seven and so on, back to \*A\*. This must be done with one side of the player's body facing the part of the playing area she will step into, that is, one leg of the player is in Room Eight and one leg is in Room Seven. If she is "right-legged" she stands with her left leg in Room Seven and, using her right leg, she rolls the *jinggudan* into Room Seven from Room Eight. As the *jinggudan* rolls into Room Seven she stamps on it to stop it and, simultaneously, moves her left leg into Room Six. This is repeated until the *jinggudan* rests on \*A\*.\*

Now this player has finished play associated with Room One. Next, she stands at \*A\* and begins the play associated with Room Two. She rolls the *jinggudan* from \*A\* to Room Two. She quickly follows it and stamps it with one foot to stop its movement in Room Two. Subsequently, she rolls the *jinggudan* to Room Eight in the way that we described in the above paragraphs.

After completing the play associated with Room Two, the player continues similarly for the remaining rooms. Next, she plays step (ii.), that is, *ger helang*.

The player must always begin by rolling the *jinggudan* from \*A\* to Room One, Room Two, or Room Three. The room that the *jinggudan* is first rolled to and stopped in is the room that the player is attempting to complete the associated playing process. Now, if the player chooses, she may roll the *jinggudan* from Room One to rooms Two, Three, and Four without stopping, that is, for example, the *jinggudan* may be pushed without being stomped on from rooms Two or Three to Room Four. This may also be done from Room Five to rooms Six, Seven, and Eight. In any event, the *jinggudan* must not roll across the line that divides the playing area into two halves (i.e., the line that delineates rooms One, Two, Three, and Four from rooms Five, Six, Seven, and Eight). It is taken for granted that the *jinggudan* may be rolled from Room Four to Room Five and from Room Five to Room Four.

(ii.) *Ger helang* (Literally: "Home Take"). The player holds the *jinggudan* in one hand and hops on one foot from Room One to Room Eight, and then to rooms Seven, Two, Three, Six, Five and, finally, to Room Four. Next, she hops backward from Room Four to rooms Five, Six, Three, Two, Seven, Eight, One, and \*A\*. During this time, the player cannot hop twice

in one place, that is, if the player feels as though she is losing her balance, and hops again in one room to regain her balance, she loses her turn and, therefore, *ger helang* must be repeated, either by herself or by her partner.

The player stands at \*A\* with her back facing the playing area. She throws the *jinggudan* above her shoulders behind her back. She tries to throw the *jinggudan* into Room One. She subsequently asks the other player(s) if this is permissible. If the response is positive, she turns around and repeats step (i.). If she does not throw the *jinggudan* into Room One, she loses this turn and must repeat this step when her turn comes around again.

When a player successfully lands the *jinggudan* into Room One and successfully completes traversing all the rooms by completing step (i.), Room One is considered her "home." Once a room is taken as a player's "home," it cannot be claimed by other players. Other players must throw the *jinggudan* into other rooms to claim them. Furthermore, the rooms must be claimed as "homes" in turn: after Room One has been claimed as a player's "home" the next player must claim Room Two and only Room Two as her "home," and so on.

If Player X has successfully claimed Room One as her "home" she stands at \*A\* and faces the playing area. Next, she either tosses the *jinggudan* or rolls it with her foot into Room One and attempts to successfully complete step (i.). As long as she makes no mistake, she continues to place the *jinggudan* into each room in succession, that is, in her next step, she would place (either by pushing with her foot or by tossing) the *jinggudan* into Room Three at the beginning of her next step and attempt to successfully complete step (i.). If she can complete all these steps successfully, she stands at \*A\* with her back to the playing area and throws the *jinggudan* behind her as before and attempts to claim Room Two as her "home." However, if she makes a mistake, it is now player Y's time to try. If Player Y, for example, successfully claims Room Two as her "home" and then makes a mistake, it is now X's turn again.

If player X wants Room Three as her "home," and if Room Two is player Y's "home," X must ask Y for permission to step into her "home" (Room Two). If Y refuses, then X must jump over Room Two. This rule only applies to rooms Two, Three, Six, and Seven.

Imagine that X has rooms One and Three as her "homes" and Y has thrown the *jinggudan* into Room Four. She then will attempt to finish step (i.) and claim Room Four as her "home." But, on the way, she will pass X's "homes" (rooms One and Three) with the *jinggudan*. If she passes by without the *jinggudan*, it does not matter. However, if she desires to go through with the *jinggudan* the first time she must ask for permission. If X refuses, Y first steps on the *jinggudan* in Room Four and then rolls the *jinggudan* with her foot to Room Eight and then rolls it back to Room Four. In this situation, one of her feet is in Room Three and one is Room Four. She removes her foot from Room Three and jumps over Room Three into Room Two. She then hops back to Room Four. If she has made no mistakes so far she has earned the right to put her left foot (if she is right-footed) into Room Three and then continues to complete step (i.). Y will behave similarly in hopping over Room One.

If Y has rooms Four and Five, which are corner ones, X may step into rooms Four and Five (because they are corner rooms) without asking for permission.

#### f) Conclusion: *Beila*

The game ends when one player gets at least five rooms as her "homes." The loser asks how many times she must circle the playing area carrying the winner on her back. The loser then must try to comply.



## 6. MUGHE GAMES

### *Qigerlai*<sup>14</sup> (Playing With Seven Stones)

#### a) Dividing the Players

If there are more than three players, they divide into two groups. If there are two or three players they play as individuals and not as part of a group.

#### b) Game Devices

A total of seven stones, each of which is approximately one centimeter in diameter, is used by the players. Older girls may use larger stones. The difficulty of the game increases as the stone size increases. Other round objects are also used, such as apricot pits. This is especially true in loess areas where stones are not easily found.

#### c) The First Chance to Play

In turn, each player holds the seven stones in one hand, tosses them above her palm, and catches them on the back of the same hand. Next, the player tosses these stones up from the back of her hand and attempts to catch them in her palm. This is called *bin*.

*Ga* is identical to *bin* with the exception that when the stones are tossed from the back of the player's hand, the player raises her hand above the falling stones, and tries to grab as many as possible. She may not let the stones fall by themselves into her open waiting palm.

The player or group who catches the most stones after *ga* or *bin* plays first.

#### d) Steps

(i.) The first player repeats *bin*, except that when the stones are tossed up from the back of the hand only one from among the falling stones is caught. The other stones fall to the ground. The player then tosses the single stone in her palm into the air, picks up one of the stones on the ground, and catches the tossed stone in her palm. She places one of the two stones she now has in her palm in her left hand (if she is right-handed). Next, she tosses the stone remaining in her right hand, picks up two stones from the ground with her right hand, and catches the tossed stone with her right hand. She passes two of the three stones in her right hand to her left hand and tosses the stone remaining in her right hand into the air, picks up the remaining three stones on the ground with her right hand, and catches the tossed stone with her right hand.

At the beginning of play the children may agree that the stones must be picked up in lots of one, two, and three, in this order. If they do not agree to this rule the stones may be picked up in a different order, for example, three stones might be picked up first, followed by one stone, and then the remaining two stones.

While picking up the stones that are on the ground, the player must only touch the target stones. If she touches other stones that she does not intend to pick up she is "dead," that is, she loses this turn.

The above is done seven times. During the eighth step, when the player tosses the stones into the air, she must *ga* three stones, that is, she must snatch them from the air as they fall to the ground. She may not let them land into her open waiting palm.

At the beginning of play the children may agree that when the stones land on the back of the hand the hand can be tilted so that some stones will fall off, leaving only three. This makes it easier to snatch three stones. The children may agree, however, that the hand may not be tilted and all the stones that land on the back of the hand must be thrown into the air and only three snatched. When a player successfully completes all the foregoing, she keeps one stone as her own property, removing it from play, leaving only six stones.

<sup>14</sup> Ms. Bao Zhenlian, (b. 1973), a native of Bao Family Village, Guanting Region, explained this game to the first author in February 1995.

(ii.) Next, six stones are played with as above, the only difference is that the stones on the ground are taken in lots of two and three.

(iii.) There are now only five stones in play. Players may decide at the start of step (iii.) that the stones cannot be put into the left hand, that is, the step is done with all the stones held in the right hand. Play proceeds as above. There are now only four stones in play.

(iv.) Only one hand is used and play proceeds as above.

(v.) This step is known as *zhuanzhu*. Only three stones now remain. The stones are taken in the right hand and one is released and thrown into the air. Meanwhile, the player drops the two stones that remain in the palm to the ground. The falling stone is then caught in the palm. Next, the stone caught is tossed into the air and each stone lying on the ground is picked up individually, that is, the two stones cannot be picked up together. The tossed stone is then caught in the palm.

(vi.) This step is known as *geger*. During this round a player repeats the following:

<i>Geger, geger yi,</i>	[Line, line one,]
<i>Geger, geger er,</i>	[Line, line two,]
<i>Geger, geger san,</i>	[Line, line three,]
<i>Geger, geger si,</i>	[Line, line four,]
<i>Geger, geger wu,</i>	[Line, line five,]
<i>Geger, geger liu,</i>	[Line, line six,]
<i>Geger, geger qi.</i>	[Line, line seven.]

The two remaining stones are held in the right hand. One stone is tossed into the air. Meanwhile, the other stone is either dropped or put on the ground. The other stone is snatched (*ga*). Next, the caught stone is tossed up, the stone on the ground is picked up, and the tossed stone is snatched (*ga*). As in the previous rounds, this is done seven times. In preparation for the next step a horizontal line is drawn in front of the player. The player holds both stones in her hand and tosses one stone into the air, touches the ground with her right hand on the side of the line near her, places the stone in her hand on the other side of the line, and snatches the stone tossed. If she does this successfully, she may keep one stone.

(vii.) This step is known as *pai*. During this round a player repeats the following:

<i>Huayi huaer hua daoder,</i>	[Draw one, draw two, draw lines,]
<i>Jiangjun guolai tiemao-mao,</i>	[Generals come wearing helmets,]
<i>Buduo bushao di shi'er dao.</i>	[No more, no less, just twelve lines.]

The player tosses the stone into the air and, after saying "*huayi*," she touches the ground, draws a short line with her middle right finger, and snatches (*gha*) the tossed stone. She duplicates this action while repeating each of the above words in order, except *dao*. She has now drawn twelve lines, none of which can touch another line. After she says "*Dao*," she must smooth all the lines away with her right hand before she snatches the tossed stone. Now the stone is placed on the ground and the player covers it with her hand. An opposing player then draws a straight line on one of the two sides (not at the top or the bottom) of the hand. After the player removes her hand covering the stone the drawn line is extended. If it intersects the stone, the stone becomes that player's "property." If the line does not intersect the stone then the stone belongs to the player that covered the stone with her hand.

#### e) Conclusion

The player or side that has the most stones wins. The winner slaps the loser's wrist with two or three fingers as punishment.

# *Shiyigeni*<sup>15</sup>

This game is similar to *qigerlai*. It is generally played when there are more than two or three players. This explains why the number of stones used is eleven. If there are only two or three players *qigerlai* is generally played. However, if the children are older and quite skilled, they may play this game, even if there are only two players.

## a) Playing Area

To facilitate play, a flat place covered with loose dirt is chosen as the playing area.

## b) Game Devices

Eleven round and smooth stones, each of which is approximately one centimeter in diameter, are used.

## c) Getting the first chance to play

*Zongdi* ("total do") is used to decide which group plays first. In turn each player holds eleven stones in one hand, tosses them above her palm, and catches them on the back of the same hand. Next, the player tosses these stones up from the back of her hand and attempts to catch them in her palm. There are two ways to catch the stones. *Jie* is the same as *bin* and *guake* is the same as *ga*, both of which are described above. Each group adds the total number of stones caught and the group with the larger number plays first.

## d) Steps

(i.) The first player holds all eleven stones in her right hand (if she is right-handed). She does *jie*. One stone is *tou*. She next plays this step with the *tou* stone. If the player catches two of the stones, there are two possibilities for proceeding. One is that Player X of the other group takes one of the two stones from Player Y's hand. Player X then throws this stone once at one stone (or, if several stones are lying together, she may try to hit several stones with one throw) lying on the ground. Depending on the situation, this may cause one or more of the stones on the ground to bounce or roll some distance away, making things more difficult for Player Y. Player Y next tosses her *tou* into the air and, in four attempts, tries to pick up all the stones lying on the ground, and then catches the falling stone in her palm (*jie*). During the first attempt she picks up one stone from the ground, in the second attempt she picks up two stones, in the third attempt she picks up three stones, in the fourth attempt she picks up the remaining four stones from the ground. Each time she picks up stones from the ground she passes them to her left hand, keeping only the *tou* in her right hand.

The second way to proceed is using the two stones as *tou*. When she first tosses the two *tou* into the air, she picks up two stones lying on the ground and then catches the falling two *tou* in her palm. In her second attempt she picks up three stones from the ground and, in her third attempt she picks up four stones. As before, each time she picks up stones from the ground she passes them to her left hand, keeping only the two *tou* in her right hand.

In terms of the number of stones picked up during each attempt, players decide this at the beginning of play. They may agree that the stones must be picked up in the order of 1–2–3–4 or, in the case as described in the above paragraph, 2–3–4. They may agree, however, to pick up the groups of stones in any order, that is, a player might first pick up four stones, in a second attempt pick up two stones, and in a final attempt, pick up two stones (in the situation described in the above paragraph).

While picking up the stones that are on the ground, the player must only touch the target stones. If she touches other stones that she does not intend to pick up then she is "dead," that is, she loses this turn.

When this game is played, the rule *ruang gudiar guang* is often employed. This rule dic-

<sup>15</sup> Ms. Wang Weihong and Ms. Yang Juping (b. 1980) explained and demonstrated this game to the first author in Zhongchuan Middle School on November 6, 1994.

tates that, at the beginning of a player's turn, wherever the stones roll to on the ground, the other players and the player herself cannot step or move away from her current position. This also applies to the stones that might be struck by another player, as described above. Another rule is that when the player picks up the stones on the ground and tries to catch the *tou* stones, sometimes, the stone may hit the stone held in the hand and bounce up. When this happens, the player's *mao* (turn) dies. This is called *diaoli guang*.

The above is done eleven times. During step (xii.), before the player tosses the stone into the air, any of the other players may ask "*Laoji?*" This means "How many stones should the player *guake?*" The players then agree on the least number of stones to be caught. One example is "*Sige yishang hetai!*" which translates as "Need to snatch more than four!" The player then says a certain number more than four. She must now catch that number of stones by *ga*. If she says, for instance, "five," then she tosses the stones into the air, and tries to snatch five of the stones as they fall to the ground.

When a player successfully completes all the above, she keeps one stone as her own property, removing it from play, leaving only ten stones. This is called *bi ge diba*, which means that the player has earned a stone for her group.

(ii.) Next, ten stones are played with as above, the only difference is that the stones on the ground are taken in lots of two, three, and four.

(iii.) There are now nine stones in play. The only difference from the above is that the player picks up stones in lots of one, three, and four from the ground.

(iv.) Eight stones are played with as above, the only difference is that the stones on the ground are taken in lots of three and four.

(v.) The stones on the ground are taken in lots of two and four.

(vi.) The stones on the ground are taken in lots of one and four.

(vii.) Now, there are five stones in play. The player tosses the *tou* and picks up all the stones during one attempt.

(viii.) During steps (i.) to (vii.), players say that they are *tiu*, that is, "picking up." Beginning with step (viii.), each step has a certain name. This step is known as *zhuanzhuier*. Now there are four stones in play. The player takes the four stones in her right hand. She tosses the *tou* stone into the air. Meanwhile, the player drops the other three stones to the ground. She may let them all fall together, or she may drop them individually. The latter course of action may position the stones so that they are more easily picked up. The falling stone is then caught in the palm. Next, the stone caught is tossed into the air again and each stone lying on the ground is picked up individually, that is, the three stones cannot be picked up together or in two attempts. The tossed stone is then caught in the palm by *jie*.

The player repeats the above eleven times and, in the twelfth step, she may keep one stone as her group's wealth.

(ix.) This step is also known as *zhuanzhuier*. The only difference between this step and step (viii.) is that the number of stones on the ground is now two.

(x.) In this step, known as *gaoger*, the *tou* is tossed into the air and the other remaining stone falls to the ground. The *tou* is snatched (*gua*). Then the player tosses the *tou* again, picks up the stone on the ground, and snatches the *tou*. *Gaoger* is done eleven times and the player keeps one stone of the two. However, in certain areas, the other players ask the player to *guanni ge* ("do the intermediary step") after the eleventh *gaoger*. That is, the player tosses the two stones together into the air, and then snatches the lower one first and the higher one second. If she can finish this successfully, she keeps one stone as her group's wealth.

*Gaoger* differs from *zhuanzhuer* in that, in the latter, the player may let the stone land in her open waiting palm while, in the former, the player must snatch the stone with her palm facing the ground.

At the beginning of the game, the players discuss “*Jiergha biu gui?*” that is, “Can we continue with another player?” If the answer is affirmative, that is, “*Jiergha bi,*” another player of the same group may continue, that is, if the first player *gaoger* three times, the second player begins with attempt number four, the final goal being eleven *gaoger*. If they decide negatively, this step must be finished by only one player; no other players may help.

(xi.) Now the stone is placed on the ground and the player covers it with her hand. An opposing player then draws a straight line on one of the two sides (not at the top or the bottom) of the hand. After the player removes her hand covering the stone the drawn line is extended. If it intersects the stone, then the stone becomes that player’s “property.” If the line does not intersect the stone, the stone belongs to the player that covered the stone with her hand.

In an alternate way to decide which group can have the stone, an approximately ten to fifteen centimeter diameter circle is drawn. A cross is inscribed inside the circle, dividing it into four equal parts. The remaining stone is tossed into the air, the player touches an area inside the circle with the middle finger of the hand that tossed the stone, and then snatches the stone with the same hand. If the player touches any line or the outside the circle, she loses her turn. The player may touch any quadrant. Afterwards, however, the player must move either clockwise or counterclockwise, touching each of the remaining quadrants in order.

When the player touches one quadrant, she also repeats the following:

<i>Huayi huaer hua daodao,</i>	[Draw one, draw two, draw lines.]
<i>Jiangjun guolai tier mermer,</i>	[Generals come wearing helmets.]
<i>Buduo bushao shier tiao.</i>	[No more, no less, just twelve lines.]

The player tosses the stone into the air and, after repeating *huayi*, she marks a quadrant with her middle right finger and then she snatches the tossed stone. She repeats this action while saying each of the above words, except *dao*. She has now made twelve marks; three in each quadrant. During her thirteenth toss, she must brush away the circle and all the marks.

## e) Conclusion

Losers are punished according to *yige muge liangge tangguer*, which literally translates as “One playing stone two flicks (of the finger on the forehead).” For example, if, at the end of the game, one side has three stones and the other side has eight stones, then the latter side has five more stones than the former side and is entitled to flick the losers ten times on their foreheads. These ten flicks might be given to each player or collectively shared by all the players of the losing side.

## 7. TIJIER GAMES

Depending on the area where it is played, this game may also be called *titier*, *juer*, *tijier*, or *tijuer*.

### a) Game Device

Two “old China” metal coins with holes in the middle are used. The coins are put together and goat hair is passed through the holes. Next a bone is pushed through the holes so that the hair is firmly fixed in the hole. On one side the bone and hair are cut away, creating a smooth surface. On the other side the goat hair extends about five centimeters. This *tijier* is heavy and hard to make, therefore, mostly boys and young male adults play with it.

A second *tijier* is made by using two “old China” coins with holes in the middle or curling a metal wire into the shape and dimensions of a coin. If wire is used, a hole is left in the middle. Next, a small piece of cloth is put on top of the metal coins or coiled wire and a hole is made in the cloth that corresponds in size to the hole of the metal it covers. The ends of the

cloth are then put under the metal and brought through the hole in the metal and the cloth. Some colorful chicken feathers are then tied with string to the ends of the cloth. Girls are fond of this *tijier*.

#### b) Preparation

If players are using a goat hair *tijier*, they first spit on the *tijier* and rub it in the dirt. This makes the goat hair stiffer and the individual hairs spread out some. This helps the players later, when they *da* or *luo* (explained later), for the *tijier* is now easier to control.

The name used for a particular game depends on the number of times that the *tijier* is kicked in each step. For example, *wuxiao ershilian* (five *xiao* (step one) and twenty *lian* (the final step) and *sanxiao liulian* (three *xiao* and six *lian*) are common names. There is no pause between steps, that is, the *tijier* is constantly in motion and not caught in the hands of the player so that the player may rest.

### *Tijier A*

#### a) Dividing the Players

*Tijier* players divide into two groups. Players stand together and then, at an agreed upon signal, such as a shout, or counting to three, all players extend their hands forward, either with the palm up or the palm down. Those with palms up become one group, and those with palms down become another group. This is repeated until each group is approximately the same size.

#### b) Playing

At the beginning of play contestants decide to play each step three or five times from step (i.) to step (viii).

(i.) *Xiao* is kicking the *tijier* with the inner side of the foot. Some players may use the inner side of the calf. After the player touches the *tijier* once with his foot or leg he cannot step on the ground with this foot. He must continue for a total of three (*sanxiao*) or five (*wuxiao*) kicks. The player must complete all the prescribed kicks, otherwise, he must start over from *xiaoyi* (the first kick of the game).

(ii.) In *ti* the player must put his kicking foot on the ground before he kicks the *tijier* again.

(iii.) *Pan*. The player must kick the *tijier* using both feet. That is, if he uses his right foot first, then the next kick is given by his left foot.

(iv.) *Guai*. The player kicks the *tijier* with the outside part of a foot.

(v.) *Kang*. The player kicks the *tijier* with the upper front part of his foot. Some players use their shins to do this.

(vi.) *Dong*. The player hits the *tijier* with the front of one thigh.

(vii.) *Zhan*. The player repeats *dong* and then catches the *tijier* on the upper front part of the foot of the same leg. The *tijier* must rest motionlessly on this part of the foot.

(viii.) *Tiao*. *Zhan* is repeated. Assume that the right foot has caught the *tijier*. The *tijier* is tossed up again with the right foot. Next the left foot is bent at the knee and moved behind the right leg and near the right knee, the left foot kicks the *tijier* up in the air. The *tijier* then lands on the right upper thigh, is tossed up, and is caught on the upper front part of the foot of the same leg where it must remain motionless.



(ix.) *Lian*. The *tijier* is tossed up using a hand. Next the left foot is bent at the knee and moved behind the right leg and near the right knee, the left foot kicks the *tijier* up in the air. This is repeated twenty times without stopping, that is, there is no period of rest; the *tijier* does not land on the ground, foot, or thigh.<sup>16</sup>

### c) Conclusion

Imagine that Group A first successfully completes step nine. A player from Group B tosses the *tijier* to a player from Group A. This player kicks the *tijier* as far into the distance as possible. When the *tijier* is kicked, players of Group B will try to catch it before it hits the ground with their hands or in their caps. If a Group B player does catch it, then the player who kicked the *tijier* cannot play again, that is, he is out of the game. This is called *daixiao daisi*. The same thing happens if he misses the *tijier* when it is tossed to him. However, the player who is kicking can choose to not kick at the *tijier*. Only when he feels it is a good toss will he try to kick it. If no one catches the *tijier*, then the same player kicks the *tijier* again as it is tossed to him by any of the Group B players. This continues until this player either misses the *tijier* or it is caught by a Group B player. What we have just described is called *shangmao*. The ways a player loses his turn during *shangmao* are as follows, however, the specific rules vary depending on locale:

- (i.) *daixiao daisi*
- (ii.) *qiada*
- (iii.) *dangla*
- (iv.) *yiti shimaoni hui*
- (v.) *waibar la bizi*

Players may agree that if the *tijier* is caught by a player the first time then the person who caught it gets an extra turn at play (*mao*) the next time.

## ***Tijier B***

### a) Dividing the Players

Players divide into two groups. Players stand together and then, at an agreed upon signal, such as a shout, or counting to three, all players extend their hands forward, either with the palm up or the palm down. Those with palms up become one group, and those with palms down become another group. This is repeated until each group is approximately the same size.

### b) Beginning

The first chance to play is decided by *caicaichi*. Furthermore, players observe the rule of playing "without capture," which means that the player catches the *tijier* in her hands after completing one step and pauses for a short time before continuing with the next step. The *tijier* is kicked five times in each step.

### c) Steps

(i.) *xiao*. The kicking foot cannot touch the ground during *xiao*. If they play *tijier* of five, they *xiao* five times.

(ii.) *Da*. The inside side kicks the *tijier* once up into the air and then touches the ground once with the same foot.

(iii.) *Jian*. The *tijier* is kicked using the top part of the front of the foot.

<sup>16</sup> Sometimes players might agree on a lesser number such as ten or six at the beginning. Furthermore, if one player can do all the *lian* in one time of play, then the player does it without stopping.

(iv.) *Wai* or *guai*. Kicking *tijier* with the outer edge of the foot.<sup>17</sup>

(v.) *Dong*. The *tijier* is hit into the air with the front part of the thigh. After hitting the *tijier* into the air once or twice the *tijier* may not be high enough in the air for the player to again hit it with her thigh. In such a case, players may allow a player to boost the *tijier* back high into the air by kicking it with the other foot and then complete the required number of hits with the thigh.

(vi.) *Kang*. The *tijier* is kicked up using the top part of the front of the foot. The *tijier* must be touched by the player's chest before it is again kicked up.

(vii.) *Ding*. The *tijier* is kicked up using the inside part of the foot and it must touch the player's forehead before it is again kicked up. Increasingly, however, a player may satisfy this requirement if the *tijier* touches any part of the player's head.

(viii.) *Tiao*. Assume that the player is left-footed. After she tosses the *tijier* into the air before beginning further play, she raises her right foot and bends her right leg at the knee. Then she hops up on her left leg and quickly moves in and under her raised bent right leg. She then kicks the *tijier* with the inside part of her left foot. At this time, both feet are off the ground. Then she kicks the *tijier* as in Step Two. This is considered one part of this step and this part must be repeated five times, as agreed upon at the beginning of play.

#### d) Conclusion

After *tiao*, *shangmao* is done. If the *shangmao* player begins play without saying "*daixiao daisi*," the losing group can play in the next game when a player of the losing group catches the *tijier*. This extra chance, which is also called *xiao* or *mao*, may be done once in any step but, nowadays, a player often does it at the beginning of play. If players do not want to play again, they often play *daixiao daisi*, that is, when the tossing group catches the *tijier*, the player who kicked has her turn concluded.

The following are ways that a player "dies" once she has won and is kicking the *tijier*:

(i.) *Daixiao daisi*.

(ii.) *Qiada* (Pacing). If the winner did not kick the *tijier* far away, the server paces the distance between the kicker and the *tijier*. If the server can jump this distance in one step the kicker's *mao* "dies".

(iii.) *Dangla* (blocking the *tijier*'s way). The serving group may use any part of their bodies to stop the *tijier* after it is kicked. If this does happen, the kicker's *mao* "dies."

(iv.) *Yiti shimaoni hui*. Assume that Group A has won. If the kicker kicks the *tijier* to any player of Group B and that player kicks the *tijier* in her own forward direction and it is then caught by the kicker of Group A in her hands or in her cap, then this player gets a *xiao*. If, however, the Group A kicker does not catch the *tijier* she must serve the *tijier* ten times to the player of Group B who kicked the *tijier*.

(v.) *Waibar la bizi*. If the kicker kicks the *tijier* behind her body *waibar la bizi* is done. Players in the losing group cover one of the kicker's eyes and hold her nose. Then the *tijier* is served to her and she must try to kick it. If she kicks the *tijier* a long distance away (more than one pace away) so that no one catches it she will be given a normal serve again. However, if she cannot do this, her *mao* "dies."

<sup>17</sup> (iii.) and (iv.) may be done as (ii.) in some area if players lack skill.



# *Tijier C*<sup>18</sup>

## a) Steps

Players catch the *tijier* in their hands and pause between steps. The number of times that a *tijier* is kicked depends on the players' skill. Five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty are numbers that players often choose.

(i.) *Xiao*. The playing foot cannot touch the ground during *xiao*.

(ii.) *Da*. Same as *ti* above.

(iii.) *Jian*. The player must kick the *tijier* using both feet in turn; that is, if she uses her right foot first, then the next kick is given by her left foot.

(iv.) *Pan*. The player holds her hands together, making a circle. The *tijier* sits anywhere atop her hands. Next, the player jiggles the *tijier* so that it falls through the circle of her arms. She kicks the *tijier* the prescribed number of times using the inside part of one foot. Throughout, she must continue to hold her hands together and maintain the circle formed by her arms. The *tijier* must be kicked up in the area of the circle, although it need not pass through the circle each time. One variation in this step is that if the *tijier* is kicked outside the area of the circle, the player may move her arms as she likes and kick the *tijier* freely as *da* and then circle her arms again and continue *pan*. This is called *jiergha bi*.

(v.) *Nukuo* (Hole). The fingers of each hand are separated and then the fingertips of one hand touch the corresponding fingertips of the other hand, creating a hole in the center. A player puts the *tijier* on one hand, moves the *tijier* so that it falls through the hole, and then kicks the *tijier* with the inside part of one foot up through the hole again for the prescribed number of times. Players may have stipulated that when the player kicks up the *tijier* through the hole, the *tijier* may only fall through the hole. Alternatively, players may have agreed that the player must kick the *tijier* up through the hole, but that the *tijier* is not required to fall through the hole.

(vi.) *Tiao*. Same as *tiao* previously described in the game *tijier A*.

(vii.) *Bo*. The player lets the *tijier* fall with her right hand (if she is left-handed). She bends her right knee a little, while keeping her right foot on the ground, brings her left foot behind her right leg, and uses the inner side of her left foot to *bo* (kick) the *tijier* up in the air. Then she kicks the *tijier* using the same foot but the foot is now placed in front of the right leg. These two movements together count as one part of this step. These two movements are repeated the prescribed number of times.

(viii.) *Wo* or *Qie*. The same as *tiao* described in the game *tijier A*.

(ix.) *Lian*. It is similar to *lian* in the game *tijier A*, but the player cannot kick the *tijier* as in *da* in the game *tijier A*. Otherwise, the player and her group must start at the beginning of *lian*.

(x.) *Xiaotiao*. *Xiao* is done alternatively using both feet. However, each time a switch is made, the player must hop to the other foot. The *tijier* kicked by both feet counts as one *xiaotiao*.

(xi.) *Datiao*. The inner side of the foot is used to kick the *tijier* and the feet are used alternatively. The *tijier* kicked by both feet counts as one *datiao*. In some area players play *huala* in-

<sup>18</sup> Ms. Wang Weihong and Ms. Yang Zhimei explained and demonstrated this game to the first author at Zhongchuan Middle School in the winter of 1994.

stead of *datiao* and *xiaotiao*. *Huala* is the same as *jian*, but four kicks count as one. If *huala* is played, *datiao* and *xiaotiao* are not played.

(xii.) *Liangmian tiao* (Literally: “two sides jump”). A player stands on both feet and then hops on her right foot and, simultaneously, quickly bends her left leg at the knee and moves her left foot behind her right leg and kicks the *tijier* with the inside side of her left foot. Next, this action is repeated but the player must use the other foot to kick the *tijier*. These two movements together are one *liangmian tiao*.

Players may agree that *da* in any number are allowed before a player feels able to do another *liangmian tiao*. After finishing the prescribed number of *liangmian tiao*, a player may catch the *tijier* in her hands and rest for a short amount of time.

(xiii.) *Liangmian bo* (Literally: two sides *bo*). *Bo* is done as described in step seven in this game. However, after one *bo* the player must kick the *tijier* with the other foot. This movement makes one *bo*.

(xiv.) *Liangmian qie* (Literally: two sides *qie*). *Qie* is done as described in step eight in this game. However, after one *qie* a player must *qie* the *tijier* with the other foot. This movement makes one *liangmian qie*.

(xv.) *Liangmian lian* (*Lian* from two sides). *Lian* is done as described in (ix.) (this game). However, after one *lian* the player must *lian* the *tijier* with the other foot. This movement makes one *liangmian lian*. Players may agree that *da* in any number are allowed before a player feels able to do another *liangmian tiao*.

(xvi.) *Luoxiao*. First a player does *luo* and then throws the *tijier* up and does *xiao*. The player may *da* after a *luoxiao*. *Da* in any number between two *luoxiao* are allowed.

In this step, the number of *xiao* must be ten, but the number of *luo* varies. In *yiluo wuxiao*, *luo* is done once, followed by five *xiao*. *Luo* is then done again, followed by five more *xiao*. Next, the player holds the *tijier* and rests for a short time. In *yiluo shixiao*, *luo* is done once, followed by ten *xiao*. Next, the player holds the *tijier* and rests for a short time. In *yiluo yixiao*, *luo* is done once and followed by one *xiao*. *Luo* is then done again, followed by one more *xiao*. When the player finishes ten *xiao*, each of which is done after a *luo*, the player holds the *tijier* and has a short rest.

(xvii.) *Luoda*. Same as *luoxiao* just described. The choice of *yiluo wuda*, *yiluo shida*, or *yiluo yida* follows what was done in step (xvi.).

(xviii.) *Luojian*. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* up with her foot, and then *jian*. The player next repeats this movement using her other leg and foot.

(xix.) *Luopan*. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* up with her foot, and then *pan*.

(xx.) *Luonukuo*. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and then *nukuo*.

(xxi.) *Luotiao*. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and then *tiao*.

(xxii.) *Luobo*. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and then *bo*.

(xxiii.) *Luowo*. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and then *wo*.

(xxiv.) *Luolian*. This step is similar to *luotiao*. However, after one *luo*, the player must *lian* the remaining number of times agreed upon previously. *Yiluo yilian* is done by doing one *luo* and then one *lian*. These two movements count as one part of this step.

- (xxv.) *Luoxiaotiao*. *Luo*, followed by *xiaotiao*.  
 (xxvi.) *Luodatiao*. *Luo*, followed by *datiao*.  
 (xxvii.) *Luo liangmian tiao*. *Luo*, followed by *liangmian tiao*.  
 (xxviii.) *Luo liangmian bo*. *Luo*, followed by *liangmian bo*.  
 (xxix.) *Luo liangmian wo*. *Wo*, followed by *liangmian wo*.  
 (xxx.) *Luo liangmian lian*. *Luo*, followed by *liangmian lian*.

## GLOSSARY

### Abbreviations Used

- C Chinese (not necessarily Modern Standard Chinese)  
 MM Minhe Monguor  
 SW Sound Word  
 VA Variant

- aixiao*: SW. MM. A sound that expresses tiredness in the game *chuijianbao*. Similar to a sigh.  
*ara*: MM. An action in the game *ergang*. A player takes a playing stone in one hand, raises one leg, and throws the stone under his raised thigh. He must not hit any other playing stone and he must not throw his stone past the line of stones. The players hit target stones with their stones by moving their stones with one of their feet.  
*bao*: C. (Literally: "wrap"). An action in the game *chuijianbao*. When a player moves from Room Two to Room One, she does this action, which entails jumping with both feet and, when she lands in Room One, she releases the *shabao* from between her knees, where she has held it. The release of the *shabao* and the jumping, together, are considered *bao*.  
*baogha bang*: MM. (Literally: "fall with"). A rule that the *shabao* may fall to the ground at certain times if all players agree at the beginning of play in the game *chuijianbao*.  
*baogha guang*: MM. (Literally: "fall without"). A rule that the *shabao* cannot fall to the ground at certain times. This is specified by all the players at the beginning of play in the game *chuijianbao*.  
*barang*: MM. (Literally: "right"). The ninth step of the game *ergang*. A player stands on his left foot and raises his right leg. His right foot cannot touch the ground. The player tosses his playing stone under his left leg at the target stone. The remaining portions of this step are the same as *ara*.  
*beibei*: C: *bei*. *Beibeili* is the verb form of *beibei*. (Literally: "carry (on the back)"). The two *bei* form the word *beibei* used by Minhe Monguor meaning "carry on the back." It is the last step of the game *ergang* and constitutes punishment of the losers. The nature of the punishment has been decided at the game's start. *Beibei* is one form of punishment. The loser attempts to hit the winner's stones as in the first step of the game *tougang*. If he is successful, he carries the winner from the standing line to the target stone line and back to the standing line. If he misses the target stone, he must carry the winner on his back, pick up his stone, and toss it at the target stone again. He continues to carry the winner on his back until he successfully hits the target stone.  
*beila*: MM. C: *bei*. (Literally: "carry (on the back)"). The last step of several games, constituting a punishment of losers. In the games, it means carrying a person on one's back. In the game *ergang*, sometimes when someone wins four "homes," the game concludes. Next, the loser carries the winner on her back and circles the "city" two or three times.  
*Bi ge diba*: MM. (Literally: "I one eat"). It is usually said by the player in the *mughe* games.

When a player successfully completes all of one step of the game she keeps one stone as her own "property" or her group's "property," removing it from play, leaving the other stones in play. At this time the player says "*Bi ge diba*." This signifies that the player has earned a stone for herself or her group.

- biao*: C. (Literally: "toss"). In *chuijianbao* a player who has finished a certain number of steps tries to throw her *shabao* to earn a "home." The player must step to Room Four in a number of specified steps. *Biao* is the throwing of the *shabao* into one room. This specifies that this is her "home" after she completes this step.
- bin*: MM. An action used in the *mughe* games to get the first chance to play. In turn, each player holds seven (or eleven) stones in one hand, tosses them above her palm, and catches them on the back of the same hand. Next, the player tosses these stones up from the back of her hand and attempts to catch them in her palm.
- bo*: MM. (a) A style of kicking in the game *tijier*. (b) In the game it also is employed for steps, that is, the player lets the *tijier* fall with her right hand (if she is left-handed). She bends her right knee slightly, keeping her right foot on the ground, brings her left foot behind her right leg, and uses the inner side of her left foot to *bo* (kick) the *tijier* up in the air. Afterwards, she kicks the *tijier* using the same foot, but the foot is now placed in front of the right leg. These two movements together count as one part of this step. These two movements are repeated a prescribed number of times.
- bodo*: MM. (Literally: "knee"). A step of the game *chuijianbao*. A player raises her knee and puts the *shabao* on it. She must not let the *shabao* fall from her knee. She jumps into rooms One, Two, and Three doing *daidai*, which is jumping on one foot. However, as she moves from Room Three to Room Four, she lowers her knee and then grips the *shabao* between her knees and steps into Room Four. She next moves back through the rooms using the steps *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*.
- Buduo bushao di shi'er dao*.: C. VA: *Buduo bushao shier tiao*. (Literally: "Not-more not-less twelve lines."). This is said by the player as she executes *pai* and certain other steps in the *mughe* games.
- caicaichi*: VA: *caibaochi*. C. (Literally: "cut-wrap-eat"). A way players decide who plays first. One player from each group does this. *Caicaichi* is done with the feet. Three movements are possible. The movements represent "cloth," "a stone," and "a pair of scissors." A player might move one foot one step front and the other foot one step behind, representing a pair of scissors. A player might move each foot one step to the side, that is, the left foot would be moved one step to the left side and the right foot would be moved one step to the right, representing a piece of cloth. The third movement is that a player keeps her feet together, representing a stone. Before executing a movement, the players bounce up and down with two small hops. In the third hop "cloth," "a stone," or "a pair of scissors" is represented with the feet. In deciding a winner the rule is followed that "scissors" defeat "cloth," "cloth" defeats "a stone," and "a stone" defeats "scissors."
- chui*: C. (Literally: "hammer"). An action in the game *chuijianbao*. As a player jumps from Room Four into Room Three she does *chui*, which is putting her feet together on the ground when jumping. Simultaneously, she puts the *shabao* between her two knees.
- chuichuijianjianbao*: C. (Literally: "hammer-hammer-scissors-scissors-bag"). See *chuijianbao*. *Chuijianbao* is also called "three rooms," owing to the playing area where three rooms are clearly delineated. Nevertheless, the playing area beyond Room Three is called "Room Four." In *chuichuijianjianbao*, the situation is similar. It is called "five rooms," but the area beyond the fifth delineated room is called "Room Six." In this version of *chuijianbao* there are six rooms. The method of jumping from room to room is similar to that of *chuijianbao*. When the player jumps back from Room Six, she has two *chui* and two *jian* jumps, which are followed by one *bao* jump, which explains the name.
- chuijianbao*: C. (Literally: "hammer-scissors-bag"). A name of one *shabao* game. It also specifies a set of actions in a *shabao* game. After a player jumps into Room Four she must jump outside the playing area. From Room Four into Room Three she does *chui*,

which is putting her feet together on the ground when jumping, at the same time, she puts the *shabao* between her two knees. When moving from Room Three to Room Two, the player does *jian*, which is jumping from Room Three to Room Two on one foot. When moving from Room Two to Room One, the player does *bao*, which is similar to *chui*, that is, the player jumps with both feet and, when she lands in Room One, she releases the *shabao* from between her knees. She then retrieves the *shabao* with her feet, throws it behind her, turns, catches it in her hands, and lands outside Room One.

*da*: C. (Literally: "kick"). An action in the *tijier* games, and also a step name of game *tijier* D. It is using the inner part of the shoe to kick the *tijier* once and, next, touching the ground once with the same foot.

*daidai*: MM. A jumping action in the game *chuijianbao*, among others. The player jumps into rooms One, Two, and Three doing *daidai*, which is jumping on one foot. The other foot may not touch the ground.

*daixiao daisi*: MM. (Literally: "as-xiao as-die"). Rules that decide how the winner loses her chance to kick the *tijier* in the game *tijier*. Imagine that Group A first successfully completes (ix.). A player from Group B tosses the *tijier* to a player from Group A. This player kicks the *tijier* as far into the distance as possible. When the *tijier* is kicked, players of Group B try to catch it before it hits the ground with their hands or in their caps. If a Group B player does catch it, the player who kicked the *tijier* cannot play again, that is, she is out of the game. This is called *daixiao daisi*.

*dangla*: C: *dang* + M: *-la*. (Literally: "block"). In the game *tijier* it means blocking the *tijier*. It is a way to "kill" the winner's chance to kick the *tijier*. The serving group may use any part of their bodies to stop the *tijier* after it is kicked. If this does happen, the kicker's *mao* "dies."

*danzi*: C. (Literally: "marble"). A round plastic ball used in the game *jinggudan*.

*dao*: C. (Literally: "line"). A word said in the *mughe* games.

*datiao*: C. (Literally: "big-jump"). A step of the game *tijier* C. The inner side of the foot is used to kick the *tijier* and the feet are used alternatively. The *tijier* kicked by both feet counts as one *datiao*.

*dian*: MM. VA: *kang*. A step of the game *tijier* B. The player kicks the *tijier* with the upper front part of his foot. Some players use their shins to do this.

*diaoli guang*: MM. (Literally: "jumping without"). A rule in *mughe* games. When a player picks up stones on the ground and tries to catch the *tou* stone, sometimes, the stone may hit the stones in the hand and bounce up. When this happens the player's *mao* (turn) "dies". This is called *diaoli guang*.

*ding*: C. The seventh step of *tijier* C. The *tijier* is kicked up using the inside part of the foot. Traditionally, the *tijier* must touch the player's forehead before it is again kicked up. Nowadays, however, a player may satisfy this requirement if the *tijier* touches any part of the player's head.

*dong*: MM. A step of *tijier* B. The player hits the *tijier* with the top of one thigh.

*dongda gedang*: MM. (Literally: "middle line"). In the game *ergang*, in some places, the players draw a third line between the other two lines.

*dou*: MM. A step in the game *ergang*. A player puts his stone on one foot and asks the other group how many steps he may walk toward the target stone. The answer to this question may be one, or a small number of steps. This means that this player will be far from the target stone. Occasionally, a group might give many steps in answer, such as ten or fifteen. This is done in the hope that the player will walk past the line of target stones. Furthermore, if *qianpu* has been agreed to, it is done after the designated number of steps have been taken. The player then shoots the target with his stone on his foot.

*ergang*: C. (Literally: "two-lines"). A game name. The game is so named because the playing area often has two lines. However, sometimes the players draw three lines, in which case the name remains unchanged. This is a popular game played by Minhe Monguor boys. In certain areas some young adults also play it.

*ga*: MM. An action in the *mughe* games. It is done to get the first chance to play. In turn, each



player holds seven stones in one hand, tosses them above her palm, and catches them on the back of the same hand. Next, the player tosses these stones up from the back of her hand and the player then raises her hand above the falling stones and tries to grab as many of the stones as possible. She may not let the stones fall by themselves into her open waiting palm.

*gaoger*: MM. A step in the *mughe* games. When the player has only two stones to play she tosses the *tou* into the air and the other remaining stone falls to the ground. The *tou* is snatched (*gua*). Then she tosses the *tou* again, picks up the stone on the ground, and snatches the *tou* again. *Gaoger* is done eleven times and the player may keep one stone of the two. *Gaoger* differs from *zhuanzhu* in that, in the latter, the player may let the stone land into her open waiting palm while, in the former, the player must snatch the stone with her palm facing the ground.

*gedang*: MM. (Literally: "line-block"). Lines delineating a playing area in any game.

*geger*: C. (Literally: "line"). A line or lines drawn on the ground in *mughe* games. The following is the song sung in *mughe* games. As the player sings the words of the song, she draws the line(s). The last word of each line is the Chinese word for "one" to "seven," inclusive.

*Geger, geger yi*, [Line, line one,]  
*Geger, geger er*, [Line, line two,]  
*Geger, geger san*, [Line, line three,]  
*Geger, geger si*, [Line, line four,]  
*Geger, geger wu*, [Line, line five,]  
*Geger, geger liu*, [Line, line six,]  
*Geger, geger qi*. [Line, line seven.]

*Ger guoligha guang*: MM. (Literally: "Room pass without."). A rule of the game *chuijianbao* stipulating that the *shabao* cannot be thrown from Room One to rooms Three or Four.

*Gerdu ruo biu?*: MM. (Literally: "Room entering have?"). This term means "Is it all right to step into the room?" It is a rule in the game *chuijianbao*. If the answer to this question is "Yes," the way in which players move from room to room is the same as the players played before. If the answer is "No," the player cannot jump into the other's "home" and, on her return to outside Room One, she releases the *shabao* when entering Room Two. When she jumps out of Room Two, she must jump to outside Room One. As she does so, she flips the *shabao* up with her feet and catches it in her hands as she lands outside Room One. If a player throws her *shabao* into Room One, which has already been earned by the other group as their "home," the player can jump into Room One as before. But on the way back, she must act according to the answer to the question above.

*ghager*: MM. A game played by Minhe Monguor children, especially girls. Players first draw a playing area, divide the players into two groups, and play with a *wazhigh*.

*ger*: MM. (Literally: "home"). In some *shabao* and *ghager* games, players try to "earn" rooms of the playing area as their "homes," which are also their "wealth." The winner is the person or side with the greatest number of *ger*.

*Gher bari biu gui?*: MM. (Literally: "hand hold with without?"). A question asked by a player in the game *chuijianbao*. The *shabao* is put on the sole of one shoe. A player asks "*Gher bari biu gui?*" ("Can it be held?"). If the answer is affirmative, the player may hold the toes of the foot on which the *shabao* rests. If the answer is negative, the player cannot touch her foot after she puts the *shabao* on her sole.

*ger biaoke*: MM. (Literally: "home toss"). This term translates as "getting a home." A step in the game *ghager* done when a player or a group of players finishes their first step and begins to earn a "home". A player stands at \*A\* (see the game *ghager*) with her back facing the rooms, that is, the "city." Then the player throws the *wazhigh* with one hand from a point above her shoulders into one of the rooms. The room where her *wazhigh* lands becomes her *ger*, or "home". If the *wazhigh* lands in Room Three, for example, the player repeats what she did in step three as described above. If the player completes

this step successfully, she earns one "home" for herself, and her partner, if she has one, on the way to *yougo* in the "city." When she earns a "home," she places a mark in this room. Such a mark is often placed in a corner, so that it will not be obliterated by the players. If, however, the player throws the *wazhigh* into Room Eight, she loses this turn and the next player plays. Now, the player returns to \*A\* and repeats steps one and two, the only difference being that each time she passes her "home" on the way to *yougo*, she must tell the other player(s) that it is her "home."

*ger helang*: MM. (Literally: "home take"). The same action as *ger biao* in the game *jinggudan*, meaning "to 'take' a house." When a player (or a group of players) finishes the first step the player holds the *jinggudan* in one hand and hops on one foot from Room One to Room Eight, and then to Rooms Seven, Two, Three, Six, Five, and, finally, to Room Four. Next, she hops backward from Room Four to rooms Five, Six, Three, Two, Seven, Eight, and One, and then to \*A.\* During this time, the player cannot hop twice in one place, that is, if the player feels as though she is losing her balance, and hops again in one room in order to regain her balance, she loses her turn and must repeat *ger helang* in her next turn, or her partner may repeat it for her.

*Gher tuer biu?*: MM. (Literally: "Hand touch have?"). This is a question in the game *chuijianbao*. Players ask "*Gher tuer biu?*" or "Is there a rule allowing the hands to touch the ground?" If the answer is "No," the player loses the remainder of her turn if she touches the ground with her hand. Furthermore, if one group member touches the ground with her hand, all the other members of that group also lose their turns. This is called "*Yi dai liangren si!*" ("Two will die for one!"). However, if the answer is "Yes," there is no penalty.

*gua*: C. VA: *ga*. An action in the *mughe* games.

*guai*: C. VA: *waike* (MM). An action in the game *tijier A*. The player kicks the *tijier* with the outside part of the foot.

*quake*: MM. C: *gua* + MM: *-ke*. The meaning is the same as *gua*. It is a Minhe Monguor word for *gua* as an action.

*guanni ge*: MM. (Literally: "pass do"). It is a step in the *mughe* games. In certain areas, other players ask the player whose turn it is to play *guanni ge* after the eleventh *gaoger*. That is, the player tosses the two stones together into the air, and then snatches the lower one first and the higher one second. If she can finish this successfully, she keeps one stone as her group's wealth.

*guoliaozhi*: C. (Literally: "pass-then"). It is a rule in the *ara* step of the game *ergang*. In this step a player first throws his stone near the target stone and then he strikes the stone with his foot toward the target stone. However, if the player's stone is between the second and the third lines, he may move his stone with his foot. Moving his stone with his foot is called *guoliaozhi*.

*hai zhangzi*: MM. (Literally: "shoe sole"). A step of the *chuijianbao* game. In this step the player puts the *shabao* on the sole of one shoe.

*houbiao*: C. (Literally: "back toss"). A way to get a "home" in the game *chuijianbao* when the player finishes one step. When the player does this action, she cannot turn around when she steps into Room Four, using the same number of steps previously specified. She must throw the *shabao* backwards into Room One without looking. If her *shabao* lands in other than the interior of Room One, she loses the remainder of her turn. She then turns around and must return outside Room One in a specified number of steps. Simultaneously, she must retrieve her *shabao*, as described in *qianbiao*.

*houtiao*: C. (Literally: "back jump"). In the game *chuijianbao*, the player asks "*Yang huni?*" which translates as "What will you give?" There are two possible responses: *qiantiao* and *houtiao*. If the answer is *houtiao* the player turns her body slightly, holds the *shabao* between her feet, and throws it into Room Two. When jumping from Room One to outside Room One, she again acts according to *qiantiao* or *houtiao*.

*huala*: MM. A step in the game *tijier C*. In certain areas, players play *huala* instead of *datiao* and *xiaotiao*. A *huala* is the same as *jian*, but four kicks count as one. If *huala* is played, *datiao* and *xiaotiao* are not played.

*huayi*: C. (Literally: “draw-one”). A term in the *mughe* games. When a player has only one stone to play, she tosses the stone into the air and, after repeating *huayi*, she touches the ground and draws a short line with her middle right finger and then she snatches the tossed stone. The player says the following when she plays the last step of *mughe*.

*Huayi huaer hua daodao*, [Draw one, draw two, draw lines.]

*Jiangjun guolai tier mermer*. [Generals come wearing helmets.]

*jiajia*: C. This term may be translated as “holding between two parts of the body.” A step of the *ergang* game. The rules of *ara* apply, except that the player first throws the stone by holding it between and tossing it with his feet toward the target stone.

*jian*: C. (Literally: “cut”). An action of the game *chuijianbao*. When a player moves from Room Three to Room Two, the player does *jian*, which is jumping from Room Three to Room Two on one foot. At this time, the player throws the *shabao* with her feet and catches it between her knees.

*jiaqiang*: C. (uncertain). VA: *nanzha* (MM) and *nanzhawer* (MM). A step in the *chuijianbao* game. The player stands outside Room One and holds the *shabao* in her *nanzhawer*, or the back knee joint, and jumps into Room One on one foot as in *daidai*. If the answer to “*Yaoji ruo biu?*” was affirmative, the player may step into Room One and then hold the *shabao* in her *nanzhawer*. When she is ready to jump into Room Three, she crosses her legs at the knee, and then holds the *shabao* between her knees. She subsequently jumps into Room Four. More skilled players grasp only a part of the *shabao* in their *nanzhawer*, which facilitates moving the *shabao* to a position between the knees. She then moves back through the rooms using the steps of *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps.

*Jichu si?*: C. (Literally: “How many-kick die?”). A question asked when the players play the game *chuijianbao*. In Room Four the player holds the *shabao* between her knees. There are three ways to throw the *shabao* before it is caught between the knees. One foot may be used to push the *shabao* on top of the player’s other foot. Before she pushes the *shabao* with one foot onto the top of the other foot she asks, “*Jichu si?*” (“How many times can the *shabao* be pushed before my turn dies?”) Common replies are *yichusi* (once), *liangchusi* (twice), and *sanchusi* (thrice). Whatever the answer, all subsequent players must play according to the same rule.

*jie*: C. (Literally: “catch”). An action in the *mughe* games similar to *bin*.

*Jiergha bi*: MM. (Literally: “Continuing with.”). (a) At the beginning of the *mughe* games, the players discuss “*Jiergha biu gui?*” that is, “Can we continue with another player?” If the answer is affirmative, that is, “*Jiergha bi*,” another player of the same group may continue, that is, if the first player *gaoger* three times, the second player begins with attempt number four, the final goal being eleven *gaoger*. If they decide negatively, this step must be finished by only one player; no other players may help. (b) When a player completes part of one step in the *tijier* games, but cannot finish, her partner may continue to play. For example, in the *pan* step, if the *tijier* is kicked outside the area of the circle, the player may move her arms as she likes and kick the *tijier* freely as *da* and then make a stationary circle with her arms again and continue *pan*. This is called *jiergha bi*.

*jinggudan*: C. A game name and a marble.

*jipu*: C. (Literally: “how many-steps”). A question asked when the *chuijianbao* player reaches the *biao* step. The player outside Room One asks “*Jipu?*” which means “How many steps?” Other players answer with a number greater than one. The player must step to Room Four in the number of specified steps.

*juer*: C. VA of *tijier* in Monguor areas in Gangou Hui Autonomous Township.

*kang*: MM. A step in the *tijier* game. The player kicks the *tijier* with the upper front part of his foot. Some players use their shins to do this.

*Keli biu?*: MM. (Literally: “Say with?”). A question asking if a certain rule is in force in the game *chuijianbao*.

*khuer jianjier*: MM. (Literally: “foot tip”). A step in the game *chuijianbao* in which the player places the *shabao* on the tip of the toes of one foot.



*khuer nuer*: MM. (Literally: "foot top"). A step in the game *chuijianbao*. The player places the *shabao* on top of one foot. If the players agree to *zhouke bang*, the player may bend her leg to a ninety-degree angle. If they say "*Zhouke guang*," the player must extend her leg holding the *shabao*, which makes the game more difficult. After landing in Room Four, the player moves back through the rooms using the steps of *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps.

*khuer zhoujia*: MM. (Literally: "foot heel"). A step in the game *chuijianbao* in which one leg is bent backwards at a ninety-degree angle. The *shabao* is placed on top of one heel. Jumping is done next as in *bodo* and *nanzha*. When the player jumps to Room Four she flips the *shabao* forward and catches it between her knees in Room Four. She then moves back through the rooms using the steps *chui*, *jian*, and *bao*. As before, in turn, she tosses the *shabao* into rooms Two, Three, and Four and completes the subsequent steps.

*Laoji?*: C. (Literally: "Dredge-how\_many?"). Asked by a player in the game *shiyigeni* when she finishes one step and tries to *ga* a stone as her, or her group's, wealth. After she tosses and picks up the stones eleven times in the first step of the game, during the twelfth step, before she tosses the stone into the air, any of the other players may ask "*Laoji?*" This means "How many stones should the player *guake?*" The players subsequently agree on the least number of stones to be caught.

*lian*: C. A step of the *tijier* games. The *tijier* is tossed up using a hand. Next the left foot, if the player is left-footed, is bent at the knee and moved behind the right leg and near the right knee. The left foot kicks the *tijier* up in the air. This is repeated ten to twenty times without stopping, that is, there is no period of rest. Furthermore, the *tijier* must not land on the ground, foot, or thigh.

*liangchu si*: C. (Literally: "two-kick die"). A rule used in the game *chuijianbao*. In Room Four the player holds the *shabao* between her knees. There are three ways to throw the *shabao* before it is caught between the knees. One foot may be used to push the *shabao* on top of the player's other foot. Before she pushes the *shabao* with one foot onto the top of the other foot she asks, "*Jichu si?*" ("How many times can the *shabao* be pushed before my turn dies?") Common replies are *yichusi* (once), *liangchusi* (twice), and *sanchusi* (thrice).

*liangmian bo*: C. (Literally: "two-sides *bo*"). A step of the game *tijier* C. After one *bo* the player must kick the *tijier* with the other foot. This movement makes one *bo*.

*liangmian lian*: C. (Literally: "two-sides *lian*"). A step of *tijier* C. After one *lian* the player must *lian* the *tijier* with the other foot. This movement comprises one *liangmian lian*. Players may agree that *da* in any number are allowed before a player feels able to do another *liangmian tiao*.

*liangmian qie*: C. VA: *liangmian wo*. (Literally: two-sides *qie*"). A step in the game *tijier* C. After one *qie* a player must *qie* the *tijier* with the other foot. This movement comprises one *liangmian qie*.

*liangmian tiao*: C. (Literally: "two-sides jump"). A step in the game *tijier* C. A player stands on both feet, hops on her right foot and, also, quickly bends her left leg at the knee and moves her left foot behind her right leg and kicks the *tijier* with the inner side of her left foot. This action is repeated but the player must use the other foot to kick the *tijier*. These two movements collectively are one *liangmian tiao*.

*liangmian wo*: C. VA: *liangmian qie*. (Literally: "two-sides *wo*"). This may be translated as "wo from two sides."

*lianke*: MM. (C: *lian*). A step in the *tijier* games.

*luo*: (Literally: "fall"). A Chinese word used by Minhe Monguor to mean *zhan* in the *tijier* games. The usage of *luo* and *zhan* varies according to locality. The player repeats *dong* and then catches the *tijier* on the upper front part of the foot of the same leg. The *tijier* must rest motionlessly on this part of the foot. *luo liangmian bo*: C. (Literally: "fall two-sides *bo*"). A step of the game *tijier* C. *Luo* is followed by *liangmian bo*.

*luo liangmian lian*: C. (Literally: "fall two-sides *lian*"). A step of the game *tijier* C. *Luo* is followed by *liangmian lian*.

- luo liangmian tiao*: C. (Literally: "fall two-sides jump"). A step of *tijier* C. *Luo* is followed by *liangmian tiao*.
- luo liangmian wo*: C. (Literally: "fall two-sides wo"). A step of *tijier* C. *Luo* is followed by *liangmian wo*.
- luobo*: C. A step of the game *tijier* C. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and *bo*.
- luoda*: C. (Literally: "fall-big"). A step of the game *tijier* C. A player *luo*, throws the *tijier* up, and *da*.
- luodatiao*: C. (Literally: "fall-big-jump"). A step of the game *tijier* C. *Luo* is followed by *datiao*.
- luojian*: C. A step of the game *tijier* C. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* up with her foot, and *jian*. The player repeats this movement using her other leg and foot.
- luolian*: C. A step of *tijier* C. This step is similar to *luotiao*. However, after one *luo*, the player must *lian* the remaining number of times that has been agreed to previously.
- luonukuo*: MM. (Literally: "fall-hole"). A step of *tijier* C. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and then *nukuo*.
- luopan*: C. A step in the game *tijier* C. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* up with her foot, and *pan*.
- luotiao*: C. (Literally: "fall-jump"). A step in the game *tijier* C. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and *tiao*.
- luowo*: C. A step in the game *tijier* C. The player *luo*, tosses the *tijier* with her foot, and *wo*.
- luoxiao*: C. (Literally: "fall-small"). A step in the game *tijier* C. A player *luo*, throws the *tijier* up, and does *xiao*. The player may *da* after a *luoxiao*. *Da* in any number between two *luoxiao* are allowed. In this step, the number of *xiao* must be ten, but the number of *luo* varies. In *yiluo wuxiao*, *luo* is done once, followed by five *xiao*. *Luo* is done again, followed by five more *xiao*. Next, the player holds the *tijier* and rests for a short time. In *yiluo shixiao*, *luo* is done once, followed by ten *xiao*. The player next holds the *tijier* and rests for a short time. In *yiluo yixiao*, *luo* is done once and followed by one *xiao*. *Luo* is then done again, followed by an additional *xiao*. When the player finishes ten *xiao*, each of which is done after a *luo*, the player holds the *tijier* and rests a short time.
- luoxiaotiao*: C. (Literally: "fall-small-jump"). A step in the game *tijier* C. *Luo* is followed by *xiaotiao*.
- mao*: MM. (a) A player's turn to play. (b) A turn to play when a winner kicks the *tijier* served by the losers. (c) When the loser catches the *tijier* served to the winner, this becomes an extra turn to play.
- nanzha*: MM. (Literally: "back-knee-joint"). VA: *nanzhan* (MM), *nanzhawer* (MM), and *jia-qiang* (C). See *jiaqiang*. A step in *chuijianbao*.
- nukuo*: MM. (Literally: "hole"). A step in the game *tijier* C. The fingers of each hand are separated somewhat and then the fingertips of one hand touch the corresponding fingertips of the other hand, so that there is a hole in the center. A player puts the *tijier* on one hand, moves the *tijier* so that it falls through the hole, and then kicks the *tijier* with the inside part of one foot up through the hole again a prescribed number of times. Players may have stipulated that when the player kicks up the *tijier* through the hole, the *tijier* may only fall through the hole. Alternatively, players may have agreed that the player must kick the *tijier* up through the hole, but that the *tijier* is not required to fall through the hole.
- paipai*: MM. (uncertain). A step of the game *ergang*. The rules of *ara* apply, however, to begin, a player places his stone on top of his feet and tosses it with his feet toward the target stone.
- pan*: C. An action in the *tijier* games. Two different forms of *pan* appear in the *tijier* games. The player must kick the *tijier* using both feet. That is, if she uses her right foot first, the next kick is given by her left foot.
- qiada*: MM. (Literally: "pacing"). A way a player loses her turn once she has won and is kicking the *tijier*. If the winner did not kick the *tijier* far away, the server paces the distance between the kicker and the *tijier*. If the server can jump this distance in one step the kicker's turn ends.
- qianbiao*: C. (Literally: "forward-toss"). A way to try to earn a "home" in the game *chuijian-*

*bao*. In *qianbiao*, or “toss forward,” as the player jumps to Room Four, she turns around and throws the *shabao* into Room One. If the *shabao* lies on a line or into rooms Two or Three, she loses the remainder of her turn. The player must reach outside Room One in a certain number of specified steps. For example, if the other players say two steps, the player has to reach Room One in one step, where she picks up the *shabao*, and then steps outside Room One with her remaining step. Before leaving Room One, she picks up the *shabao* between her feet, throws it up, catches the *shabao* in her hands, and, simultaneously, jumps outside Room One.

*qiantiao*: C. (Literally: “forward-jump”). A rule of the game *chuijianbao*. A way for a player to leap over her own “home.” In *qiantiao*, the player pushes the *shabao* onto the top of one foot with her other foot and then tosses it into Room Two. This rule is only used in the player's own “home.”

*qie*: (uncertain) VA: *tiao*. A step of the game *tijier* C.

*qigerlai*: MM. (Literally: “seven-of”). A game's name. In this game the players employ seven stones.

*ruang gudiar guang*: MM. (Literally: “Place move without.”). A rule in the *mughe* games. At the beginning of a player's turn, wherever the stones roll to on the ground, the other players and the player herself cannot step or move away from her present position. This also applies to stones that might be struck by another player.

*sanchu si*: C. (Literally: “three-kick die”). A rule in the game *chuijianbao* as an answer to *jichusi*. See *jichusi*.

*sanxiao*: C. (Literally: “three xiao”).

*sanxiao liulian*: C. (Literally: “three xiao six lian”). A *tijier* game. The last step of *lian* is played six times, while all the other steps are played three times.

*sergai*: MM. (Literally: “left”). A step of the game *ergang*. The number of steps taken in *dou* and *su* are added. A player takes this many steps forward. He stands on his right foot and raises his left leg. His left foot must not touch the ground. The player tosses his stone under his left leg at the target stone. The remaining portions of this step are the same as *ara*.

*shabao*: C. (Literally: “sand-bag”). The game device in the game of the same name. The *shabao* is a square five centimeters in width, thickness, and length. It is made of six pieces of cloth that are sewn together so that one corner is left unsewn. After wheat or peas are placed inside, this corner is sewn shut. A second *shabao* is made by sewing together two pieces of cloth five by five centimeters and one piece of rectangular cloth five by twenty centimeters.

*Shabao baogha biu?*: MM. (Literally: “Sand-bag fall have?”). A question in the game *chuijianbao*. At the beginning, players may say “*Yaoji ruo biu?*” or “Is it all right to step into the room?” If the answer is “Yes,” the player steps into Room One and puts the *shabao* on her knee. Next, she jumps into rooms Two and Three with the *shabao* on her knee and asks, “*Shabao baogha biu?*” or “Can the *shabao* fall?” If the answer is “Yes,” the player throws the *shabao* from Room Three to Room Four and steps into Room Four. If the answer to this last question is “No,” the player jumps into Room Four holding the *shabao* between her knees without letting the *shabao* fall onto the ground.

*shangmao*: C. (Literally: “serve-mao”). The last step of the *tijier* games. The loser does it. Imagine that Group A first successfully completes (ix.). A player from Group B tosses the *tijier* to a player from Group A. This player kicks the *tijier* as far into the distance as possible. When the *tijier* is kicked, players of Group B try to catch it before it hits the ground with their hands or in their caps. If a Group B player does catch it, then the player who kicked the *tijier* cannot play again, that is, she is out of the game. This is called *daixiao daisi*. The same thing happens if she misses the *tijier* when it is tossed to her. However, the player who is kicking can choose to not kick at the *tijier*. Only when she feels it is a good toss will she then try to kick it. If no one catches the *tijier*, the same player kicks the *tijier* again as it is tossed to her by any of the Group B players. This continues until this player either misses the *tijier* or it is caught by a Group B player.

*shiyigeni*: MM. (Literally: “eleven-of (stones)”). A *mughe* game employing eleven stones.

*shouxing shoubeiga*: C. + MM: *-ga*. (Literally: “palm back\_of\_the\_hand-do”). This may be translated as “Let’s play with our palms and the backs of our hands.” It is used by players before they divide the players into two groups. Generally, four people play. However, two people can play and, also, more than four people can play. *Shabao* players divide into two groups. Players stand together and then, at an agreed upon signal, such as a shout, or counting to three, all players extend their hands forward, either with the palm up or the palm down. Those with palms up become one group, and those with palms down become another group. This is repeated until each group is approximately the same size.

*shuangkuo*: C. (Literally: “two-hit”). A possible way to shoot the target stones in the *ergang* game. It is usually decided at the beginning of play. The target group might stand their stones very near each other. If the players agree on *shuangkuo*, both stones may be hit by one stone and counted as out. However, if the players do not agree on *shuangkuo* and a player hits two stones with his stone, he loses his turn.

*sige yishang hetai*: MM. (Literally: “Four over take.”). A rule in the *mughe* game *shiyigeni*. When a group of players finishes the first eleven steps, one player tries to *ga* one stone as their wealth. During the twelfth step, before the player tosses the stone into the air, any other player may ask “*Laoji?*” This means “How many stones should the player *guake?*” The players then agree on the least number of stones to be caught. An example of this is “*Sige yishang hetai!*” which translates as “Need to snatch more than four!” The player then says a number greater than four. She must now *ga* that number of stones. If she says, for instance, “five,” she tosses the *tou* into the air, and tries to snatch five of the stones as they fall to the ground.

*su*: MM. A step of the game *ergang* and the name of the action in the same game. A player puts the end of his foot on the edge of his stone. Normally, he takes the same number of paces he was given in *dou* toward the target stone. Occasionally, the player may ask how many steps to take. Next, *qianpu* is always taken. While these steps are being taken, the player pushes the stones forward using one foot. Finally, the player kicks his stone at the target stone.

*ti*: C. (Literally: “kick”). The second step of the *tijier* games. In it the player must put her kicking foot on the ground before she kicks the *tijier* again.

*tiao*: C. (Literally: “jump”). A step name and the action in the same step in the *tijier* games. First, *zhan* is repeated. Assume that the right foot has caught the *tijier*. The *tijier* is tossed up again with the right foot. Next the left foot is bent at the knee and moved behind the right leg and near the right knee. The left foot kicks the *tijier* up in the air. The *tijier* then lands on the right upper thigh, is tossed up, and is caught on the upper front part of the foot of the same leg where it must remain motionless.

*tiao sijian*: C. (Literally: “leap four-rooms”). The first step of the game *chuijianbao*.

*tiaoke*: MM. (C: *tiao* + MM: *-ke*). (Literally: “jump”). VA: *tiao*. An action in the *tijier* games.

*tijier*: MM. (Literally: “shuttlecock”). Both a game name and the name of a device used in the game of the same name. Depending on the area where it is played, this game may be called *titier*, *tijier*, *tijuer*, or *juer*.

A *tijier* is made from two “old China” metal coins with holes in the middle. The coins are put together and goat hair is passed through the holes. Next, a bone is pushed through the holes so that the hair is firmly fixed in the hole. On one side the bone and hair are cut, creating a smooth surface. On the other side the goat hair extends about five centimeters. This *tijier* is heavy, therefore, mostly boys and young male adults play with it.

A second *tijier* is made using two “old China” coins with holes in the middle or curling a metal wire into the shape and dimensions of a coin. If wire is used, a hole is left in the middle. Next, a small piece of cloth is put on top of the metal coins or coiled wire and a hole is made in the cloth that corresponds in size to the hole of the metal it covers. The ends of the cloth are then put under the metal and brought through the hole in the metal and the cloth. Colorful chicken feathers are tied with string to the cloth’s ends. Girls prefer this *tijier*.

*titier*: MM. VA: *tijier*.

*tiu*: MM. (Literally: "pick-up"). The main action in the *mughe* games.

*tou*: C. (Literally: "head"). The stone in the *mughe* games that the player must not allow to fall to the ground. It is tossed up and, simultaneously, the player tries to pick up other stones on the ground.

*tougang*: C. (Literally: "first-line"). A step of the game *ergang*. The group that is going to play first stands on one of the outside lines. The other group puts their stones on the opposite outside line. The group playing first then throws their stones. If all the target stones are hit, they may go on to the next step, which is called *ara*.

*wai*: MM. VA: *guai*. (Literally: "askew"). Kicking *tijier* with the outer edge of the foot. It is both a step name and an action name in the game *tijier*.

*waibar la bizi*: C. (Literally: "inclined pull nose"). A rule in force when the players play the last step of the *tijier* games. If the kicker kicks the *tijier* behind her body *waibar la bizi* is done. Players in the losing group cover one of the kicker's eyes and hold her nose. Then the *tijier* is served to her and she must try to kick it. If she kicks the *tijier* a long distance away (more than one pace away) so that no one catches it she will be given a normal serve again. However, if she cannot do this, her *mao* "dies."

*wazhigh*: MM. (Literally: "earthenware-piece"). Used in the game *ghagher*. A small piece of earthenware or pottery. *Wazhigh* comes from the Chinese "*wazha*" that has the same meaning.

*wo*: MM. VA: *qie*, *tiao*. A step of the *tijier* games.

*wuxiao*: C. (Literally: "five-xiao"). See *sanxiao*.

*wuxiao ershilian*: C. (Literally: "five-xiao twenty-lian"). See *sanxiao liulian*.

*xiao*: C. (Literally: "small"). Normally, the first step of the *tijier* games. *Xiao* is kicking the *tijier* with the inner side of the foot. Some players may use the inner side of the calf. After the player touches the *tijier* once with her foot or leg she cannot step on the ground with this foot. She must continue for a total of three (*sanxiao*) or five (*wuxiao*) kicks. The player must complete all the prescribed kicks, otherwise, she must start over from *xiaoyi* (the first kick of the game).

*xiaotiao*: C. (Literally: "small-jump"). A step name and the same action name in the game *tijier* C. *Xiao* is done alternatively using both feet. However, each time a switch is made, the player must hop to the other foot. The *tijier* kicked by both feet counts as one *xiaotiao*.

*xiaoyi*: C. (Literally: "small-one"). The first *xiao* in the *xiao* step. See *xiao*.

*xiera*: C: *xie*. MM. (Literally: "slanting become"). A step in the game *ergang*. The rules of *tougang* apply except that stones are placed so that their edges face the players throwing stones, making hitting the target stones more difficult.

*Yang huni?*: MM. (Literally: "What give-will?"). A question that translates as "What will you give?" It is asked by a *shabao* player in the game *chuijianbao* when she gets a room from the "city" as her "home." When she first leaps through her "home," she asks it.

*Yaoji ruo biu?*: MM. (Literally: "Walk enter with?"). A step in the game *chuijianbao*. If players agree they will abide by this rule at the beginning of play, players may say "*Yaoji ruo biu?*" or "Is it all right to step into (the room)?"

*yi dai liangren si*: C. (Literally: "One take two-persons die."). A rule in the game *chuijianbao*. When they play the *biao* step, players ask "*Gher tuer biu?*" ("Is there a rule allowing touching the ground with the hands?") If the answer is "No," the player loses the remainder of her turn if she touches the ground with her hand. Furthermore, if one group member touches the ground with her hand, all the other members of that group also lose their turns. This is called "*Yi dai liangren si!*" ("Two will die for one!"). However, if the answer is "Yes," there is no penalty.

*yichusi*: C. (Literally: "one-kick-die"). See *jichusi* in the game *jichusi*.

*yige muge liangge tangguer*: MM. (Literally: "One stone two flicks."). The result of the *mughe* games. Losers are punished according to *yige muge liangge tangguer*, which translates as "one playing stone two flicks of the finger on the forehead." For example, if, at the end of the game, one side has three stones and the other side has eight stones,



then the latter side has five more stones than the former side and is entitled to flick the losers ten times on their foreheads. These ten flicks might be given to each player or collectively shared by all the players of the losing side.

*yiluo shida*: C. (Literally: “one-luo ten-da”). A form of *luoda* in the game *tijier* C.

*yiluo shixiao*: C. (Literally: “one-luo ten-xiao”). A form of *luoxiao* in the game *tijier* C. See *luoxiao*.

*yiluo wuda*: C. (Literally: “one-luo five-da”). A form of *luoda* in the game *tijier* C.

*yiluo wuxiao*: C. (Literally: “one-luo five-xiao”). A form of *luoxiao* in the game *tijier* C. See *luoxiao*.

*yiluo yida*: C. (Literally: “one-luo one-da”). See *luoda* in the game *tijier* C.

*yiluo yilian*: C. (Literally: “one-luo one-lian”). See *luolian* in the game *tijier* C.

*yiluo yixiao*: C. (Literally: “one-luo one-xiao”). See *luoxiao* in the game *tijier* C.

*yiti shimaoni hui*: C. + -ni (MM). (Literally: “One-kick ten-times’ chance.”). A rule used when players execute the last step of the *tijier* games, that is, *shangmao*. Assume that Group A has won. If the kicker kicks the *tijier* to any player of Group B and that player kicks the *tijier* in her own forward direction and it is then caught by the kicker of Group A in his hands or in his cap, then this player gets a *xiao*. If, however, the Group A kicker does not catch the *tijier* she must serve the *tijier* ten times to the player of Group B that kicked the *tijier*.

*yougo*: C. (Literally: “oil-pot”). In the game *ghager*, it is a room that the players assumed was the “boiling oil pot.”

*zhan*: C. (Literally: “stand”). A step of the *tijier* games. The player repeats *dong* and then catches the *tijier* on the upper front part of the foot of the same leg. The *tijier* must rest motionlessly on this part of the foot.

*zhoujia*: MM. VA: *huer houjia* (Literally: “heel”). A step in the game *chuijianbao*.

*zhouke bang*: MM. (Literally: “bending with”). An action that occurs in *khuer jianjier* (“foot tip”) of the game *chuijianbao*. The *shabao* is placed on top of one foot. If the players agree to *zhouke bang*, the player may bend her leg at a ninety-degree angle. If they say “*Zhouke guang*,” the player must extend her leg holding the *shabao*, making this action more difficult.

*zhouke guang*: MM. (Literally: “bending without”). See *zhouke bang*.

*zhuanzhuo*: MM. (Literally: “turn-around”). One step of the *mughe* games. In this step only three stones now remain. The stones are taken in the right hand and one is released and thrown into the air. Meanwhile, the player drops the two stones that remain in the palm to the ground. The falling stone is then caught in the palm. Next, the stone caught is tossed into the air and each stone lying on the ground is picked up individually, that is, the two stones cannot be picked up together. The tossed stone is then caught in the palm.

*zongdi*: C: *zong* + MM: -di. (Literally: “total-do”). A way to decide which of the two opposing groups plays first in the game *shiyigeni* (eleven stones). In turn, each player holds eleven stones in one hand, tosses them above her palm, and catches them on the back of the same hand. Next the player tosses these stones up from the back of her hand and attempts to catch them in her palm. There are two ways to catch the stones. *Jie* is the same as *bin* and *guake* is the same as *ga*. Each group adds the total number of stones caught and the group with the larger number may play first.

*zouzou*: C. (Literally: “walk”). A way to punish losers in the game *ergang*. See *beibei*.

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